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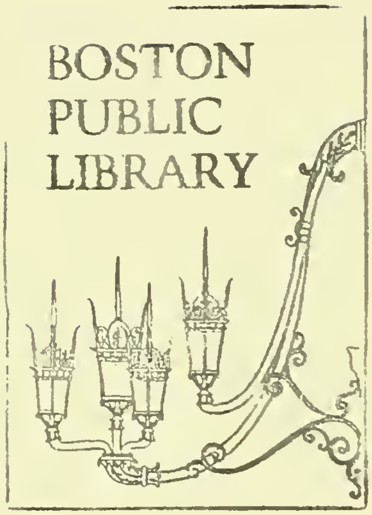

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Dudley in 2001

After the El...
Center for whom?

A PROJECT OF THE COMMUNITY SERVICE PROGRAM
College of Public and Community Service
University of Massachusetts at Boston
Boston, MA 02125

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JANUARY 1985

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of Public Affairs for help in printing costs.

**Roxbury
Action
Program**

ROXBURY ACTION PROGRAM
10 LINWOOD STREET • ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS 02119 • (617) 442-4400

January 30, 1985

To All Concerned Citizens:

Roxbury Action Program is pleased to make available for your review this study of "Dudley in 2001", which makes a statement about what we think are the issues around who should control a revitalized Dudley area.

It is clear that what we are advocating is consistant with RAP's basic agenda for Highland Park and that is, that revitalization should take place to benefit those that have endured during the toughest of times and under great duress that they share in the benefits of a revitalized economy. That the ethnic make-up of the neighborhood be preserved, and the related culture expand and thrive in its wholesome atmosphere.

Because there was a vaccum of leadership particularly from the public sector, definitely none from the private sector, we took it upon ourselves to set the stage so that dialogue could begin to bring about an orderly process to ensure our rightful level of participation. What we have before us is a challenge, and the only way to meet that challenge is to define the ground rules that suit the community's needs best.

A public/private partnership similar to the Parcel Southwest Corridor Parcel 18 + Agreement is one such vehicle that binds these parties to a communication and decision making process as equal partners should be given the highest consideration as quickly as possible.

When we initiated this study, it was clear that Dudley would be a strategic land use development node that would be pivotal to creating a stable minority community; and which has now taken on greater proportions based on the energies and desires of the new administration that makes our earlier vision seem pale.

This is precisely why we ask the question, Dudley in 2001 - After the EL Center for whom? Our recommendations should highten discussion about the community's need for participation.

I want to thank Dr. James Jennings, Dean of the University of Massachusetts; Professors Mauricio Gaston, Marie Kennedy, and the students: Bonnie Kanter, James Lescault, Mary Jane O'Meara, Barbara Sklar, and special thanks to Barbara Gomes Beach, from M.I.T. and an associate of R.A.P.; who urged me to involve us in this study because all we were getting was a lot of verbal dialogue and no one taking the lead role in moving the community to take action to set their own agenda.

Sincerely,

Lloyd H. King
Executive Director

CORPORATE OFFICERS: LLOYD H. KING, PRESIDENT • A. ROBERT PHILLIPS, VICE PRESIDENT
POLICY COMMITTEE OFFICERS: EDWARD L. COOPER, SR., CHAIRPERSON • JACQUELINE E.F. WALKER, CLERK

DUDLEY in 2001
After the El...Center for Whom?

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SECTION I

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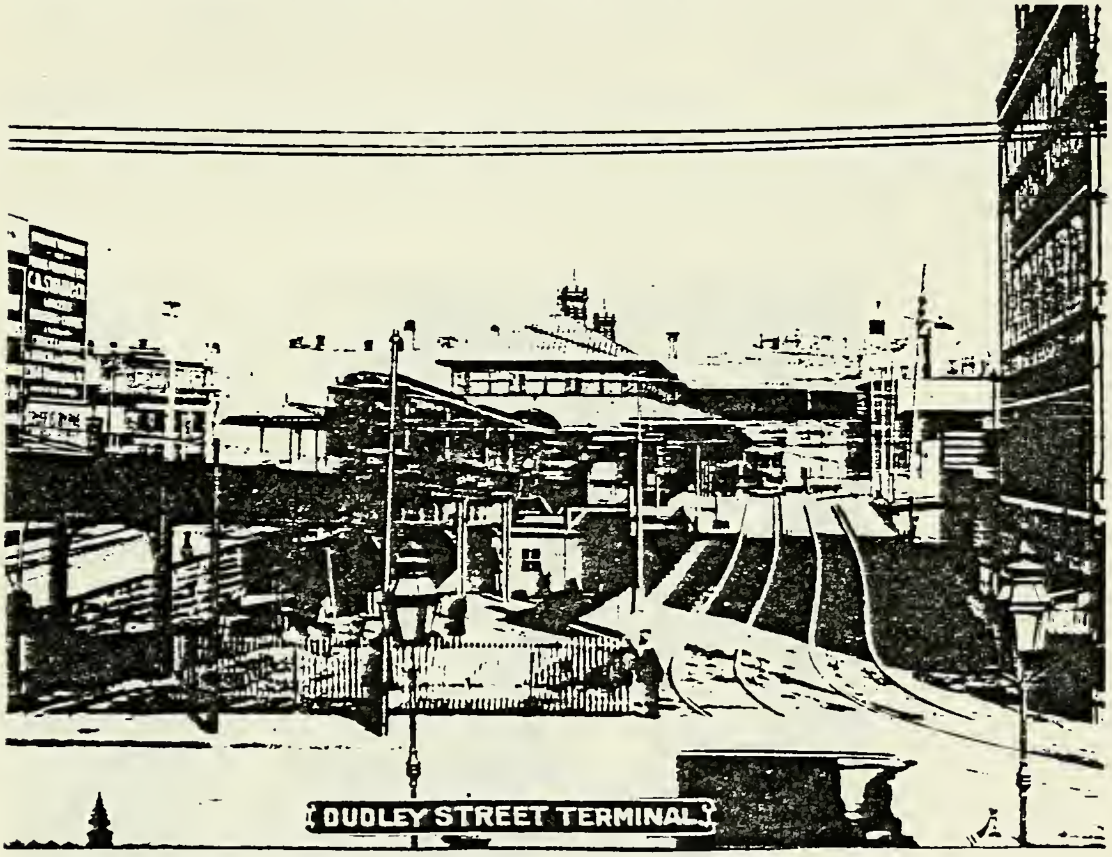
INTRODUCTION

By 1988, the Orange Line Elevated Transit Line, also known as the "El", wil be removed from the Washington Street Corridor. The relocated Orange Line will be routed along the Southwest Corridor. The new line will start at the same place, Forest Hills in Jamaica Plain, and rejoin the existing Orange Line at Washington Street Station. In the interim stretch, a large part of the predominantly black and latino communities of Roxbury and North Dorchester, currently served by the Orange Line, will be less conveniently served by the relocated line. At a minimum, the transportation pattern for an important area of the city will be drastically transformed. Residents of these areas will have to travel substantially further in order to connect with the new Orange Line.

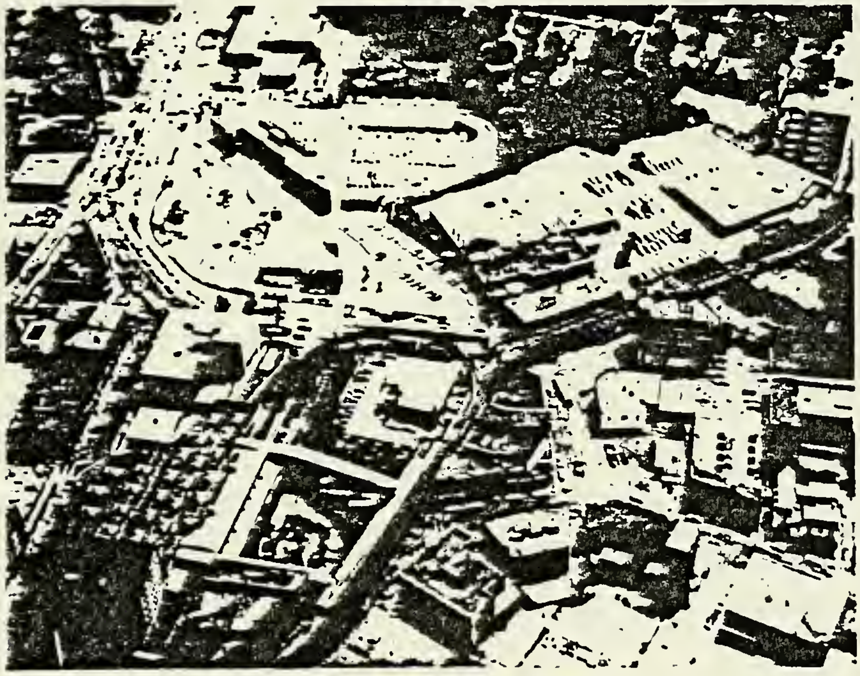


Dudley Terminal, ca. 1915 credit: S.P.N.E.A.

Potentially far more drastic is the impact of this change on the economy and social fabric of the area currently served by the Orange Line. Local shopping areas along the Washington Street Corridor are largely dependent for their survival upon the foot traffic generated by the rapid transit stops along the current route. The Dudley Station area, for two centuries the major "town center" for Roxbury, since World War II, the major center for Boston's Black Community, and, until recently, the second densest commercial district in the

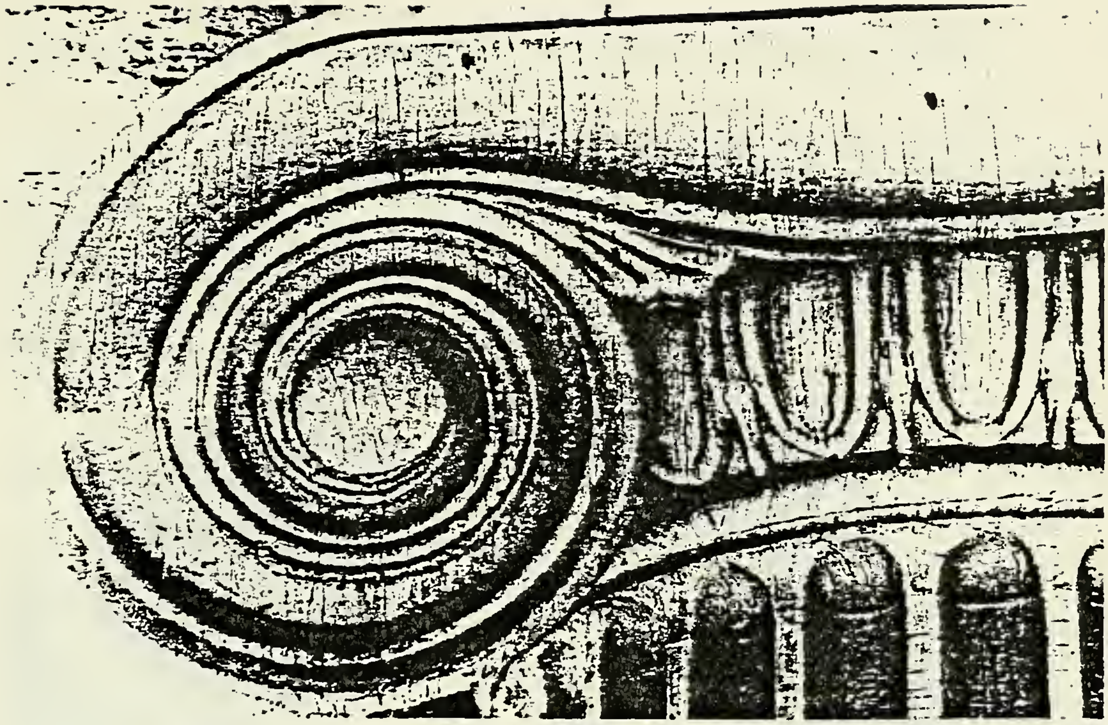
city (surpassed only by the downtown), will be particularly affected. Changes in the use of Dudley Station, presently one of the busiest bus transfer/rapid transit stations in the city will have a profound impact on the area of the city which surrounds it, although it has been so far difficult to determine the precise nature and degree of the impact.

A great deal of effort on the part of the MBTA, the Southwest Corridor Project, the Southwest Corridor Coalition and various other community groups and governmental agencies, has gone into the design and development of the new Orange Line and adjacent parcels of land along the Southwest Corridor. Until recently, however, relatively little attention has been paid to the impact of these development decisions on the Washington Street Corridor communities. It has been generally agreed that some sort of replacement transit services should be provided along Washington Street, at least as far out as Egleston Station, but final decisions as to the type of transit to be provided along Washington Street (light rail vehicles or buses) and the routing of crosstown bus connections have not been made. Yet, these decisions will have a profound effect on the transit users, merchants and residents in the area, as well as a deep impact on the overall development of the area, not just on transit use.



Dudley Station area, 1975

Surrounding Dudley Station is one of the poorest areas in the city and an area where the rate of building abandonment, demolition and arson has been particularly high. Despite this, the area has some thriving small businesses and, given certain development and investment decisions, has undeniable commercial, social, cultural and architectural potential.



With the removal of the Orange Line, the Dudley Station area faces an uncertain future. Positive decisions regarding replacement transit, other public commitments in the area and effective popular control, could trigger the realization of the development potential of this area. But, only with sophisticated popular control mechanisms will it be development for those currently served by the Dudley Station area. Alternately, the removal of the Orange Line could cause a much accelerated deterioration and abandonment in the area. This study seeks to explore the conditions under which the most postivie outcome for current, as well as new, businesses, residents, and users of the Dudley Station area will be achieved.

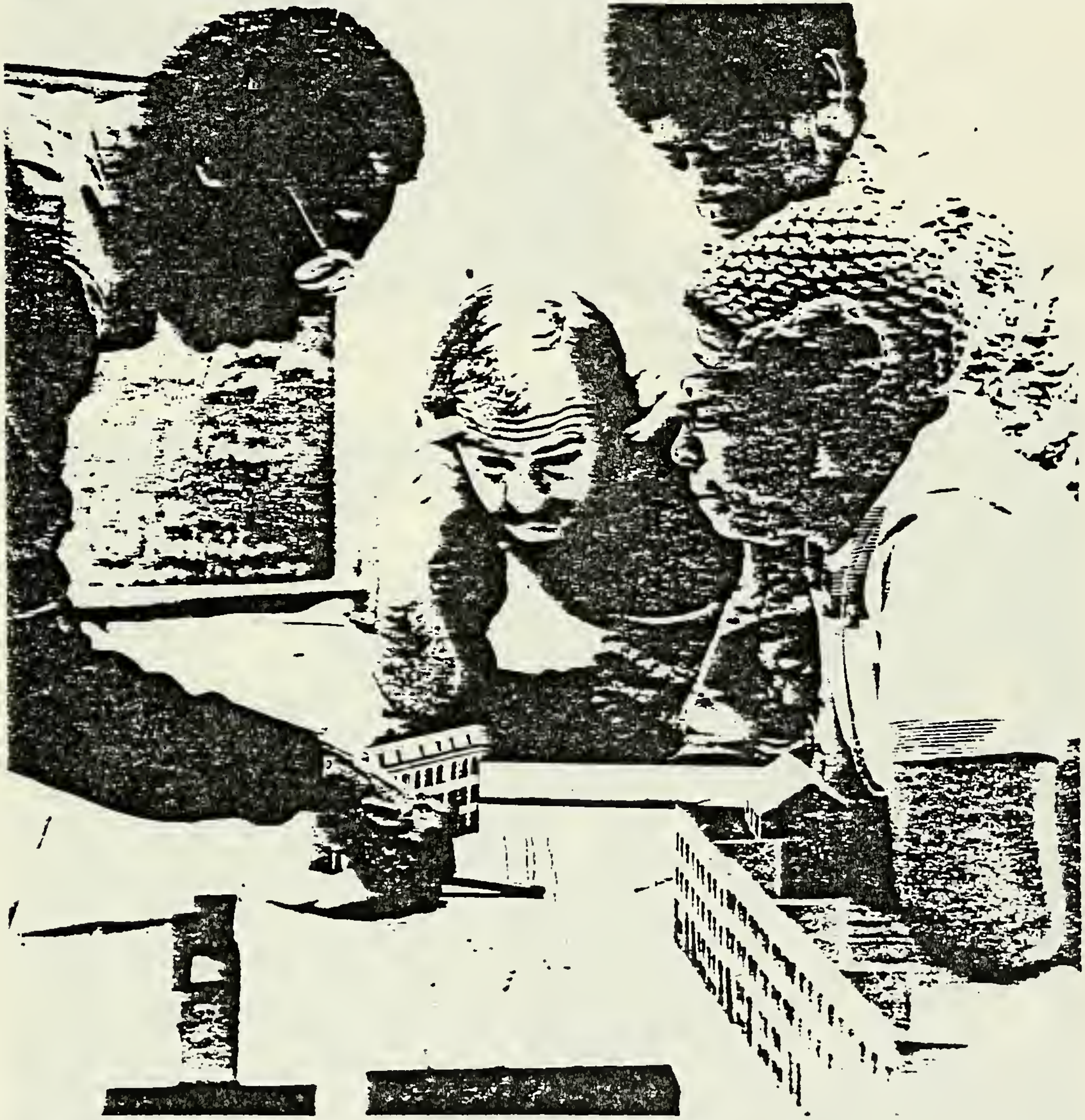
The Roxbury Action Program (RAP)

The Roxbury Action Program (RAP) was established in 1968 to serve primarily the Highland Park neighborhood of Roxbury. This mainly residential neighborhood consists of a large hill bounded by New Dudley Street to the north, Washington Street to the east, and Columbus Avenue on the west. The southern boundary is less sharply defined, as Highland Park fades into Washington Park.

Committed to the goals of community development and black empowerment through local control of resources and decision making, RAP has undertaken specific projects in housing, economic development, social services, and environmental improvement within Highland Park. Also seeking to establish a strong community identification with black heritage and unity, RAP has, amongst other activities, insituted formal celebrations of the birthdays of great black leaders, held ceremonial tributes to community residents who have

given of themselves for the betterment of the community, and published a community newspaper, the Roxbury Community News.

In the years since its inception, RAP has been able to achieve a significant impact within Highland Park, halting the decline and beginning to build a momentum of social and physical renewal. RAP has a full time predominately minority staff of 25, almost all of whom reside in the Highland Park community. The staff includes experienced developers and financial planners. In addition, RAP utilizes its professional planning group, a consortium of architects, planners, bankers, lawyers and developers, which meets weekly and has important input to the RAP planning process.



RAP's Professional Planning Group and a resident discuss plans and strategies for developing Highland Park.

RAP's most visible successes are the housing it has developed and is managing, including both the 161-unit Marcus Garvey Gardens plus more than 100 rehabilitated units. Housing accomplishments have only come about through heroic efforts amidst powerful private and

public forces not entirely sympathetic to RAP's goals of community control and community pride and, so far, RAP has had less success with commercial development.

Before: 15-27 Highland av. didn't have much going for it.

After: Refurbished, the block is a sight for sore eyes.

RAP's concentration in Highland Park is the result of both practical and theoretical considerations. RAP's comprehensive development has included physical planning, housing development, educational planning, organizing, economic development, services and transportation planning. Given limited resources, such a broad approach could easily become diluted in a larger area. By concentrating efforts in a discreet piece of land, the impact of the various efforts reinforce each other and thus contribute to community control and to the overall development of the community. Practically, the availability of some state and federal funds favors the designation of a "catchment area" as well.

Within Highland Park, the focus of RAP's commercial development and much of its housing activity has been on Eliot Square, an area with important buildings of historical and architectural value located on Dudley Street a few hundred yards from the Dudley Station Area. It was the State's recent designation of Eliot Square and the Dudley area as a single Heritage Park District that led RAP to intensify its activity regarding the Dudley Station Area. Where in the past the RAP "catchment area" had been more or less limited to the turf of Highland Park, recent developments pointed out the need for more coordination among the various community-based groups concerned with the future of Dudley. Besides Heritage Park, these developments included the Southwest Corridor, the planning for the Orange Line Replacement/transit Improvement Study (R/TIS), the redevelopment of the Orchard Park Public Housing Project and others.

This Study

Within the context of the major changes happening in the Dudley Station area, the Roxbury Action Program asked the Community Service Program (CSP) at the College of Public and Community Service (CPCS), University of Massachusetts/Boston, to undertake an assessment of the economic impact on the Dudley Station area businesses of the relocation of the Orange Line and its replacement by each of the several most likely alternatives. Professors Mauricio Gaston and Marie Kennedy agreed to supervise a team of CPCS students along with one student from the Masters program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, to undertake this project. CPCS students involved in this study were Bonnie Kanter, James Lescault, and, in the early stages, Mary Jane O'Meara and Barbara Sklar. The student from MIT was Barbara Gomes-Beach, a long term resident in the Dudley area and a HUD Intern working with RAP.

The initial approach to the project was to gather as much information as possible about the site and transportation perspectives of the area. This was done through collection and analysis of a wide variety of reports and documents (see the bibliography for a listing of these) and through arranging class presentations and interviews with both community and institutional

actors involved with transportation and development decisions for this area. A project design was then developed which estimated current economic activity, as quantitatively as possible, and compared this with three potential scenarios: two reasonably likely negative outcomes, one of gentrification and displacement, assuming the construction of the LRV, other public and private investment and no controls on displacement and type of development; and the other of further disinvestment, assuming no LRV or other improved conditions necessary for development; and a less likely positive outcome of balanced development (or "controlled gentrification"), assuming certain conditions are met, including the construction of the LRV, as well as other public and private investment in the area, an anti-displacement strategy and popular controls on development. The main difference between the gentrification/displacement and balanced development/popular control scenarios is the degree and type of community control. At the end of this report some measures are outlined that could go a long way, if developed, to prevent displacement and promote the kind of balanced development that we hope will occur in this area.

THE DUDLEY STATION AREA

History

The Dudley Station area has long been the dominant commercial center of Roxbury and an important transportation node for Boston. Roxbury itself was founded just before the settlement of Boston in 1630. While John Eliot square initially became the center of the residential community, commercial enterprises located near the present day intersection of Warren and Dudley Streets where the roads to Boston converged.

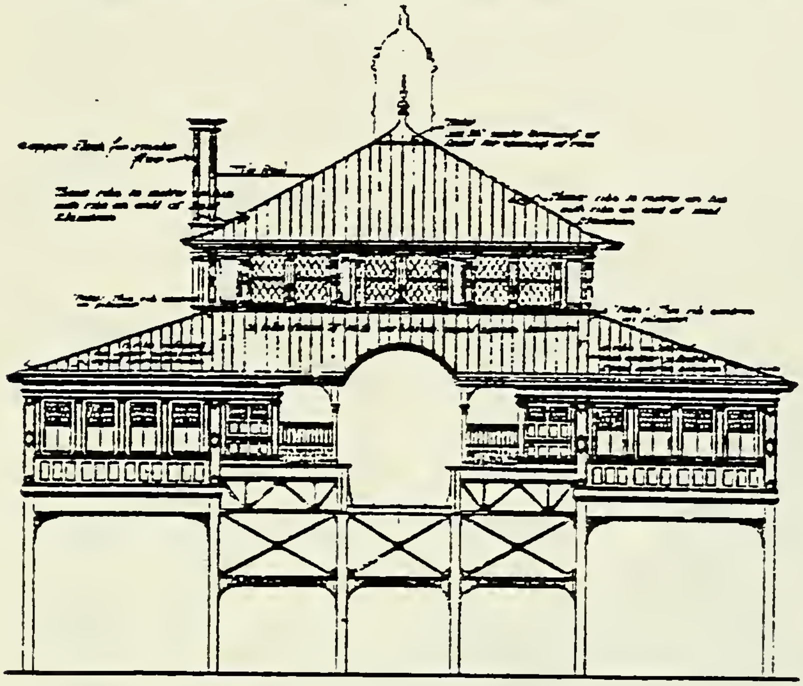
In the latter half of the 19th century, Lower Roxbury became both an industrial and working class residential area, as newly arrived Irish immigrants and a portion of Boston's Jewish community located here. These groups provided the cheap labor for industry fueled by the water power available at the tidal marshlands.

Warren and Dudley Streets, ca. 1900 credit: S.P.N.E.A.

As street car lines extended out radially from downtown Boston, Roxbury Highlands developed as a middle class suburb. The fact that one of only two crosstown routes was located on Dudley Street was important for the continued growth of the commercial sector in this area. The construction of the Dudley Street terminal by the Boston Elevated Company solidified Dudley Square as the dominant commercial

area of Roxbury; soon it became second only to downtown as a commercial center in Boston.

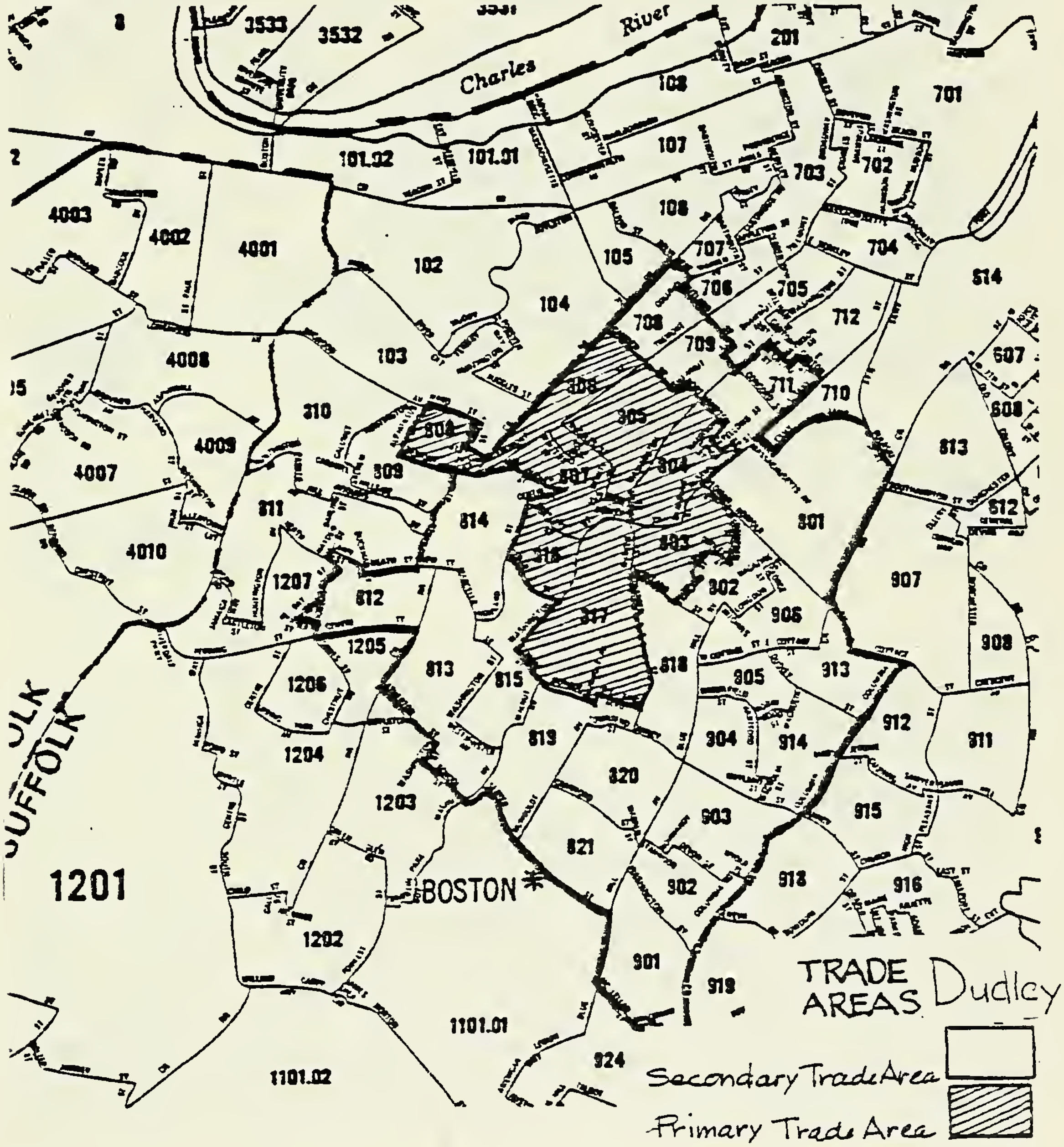
During this century other immigrant groups replaced the Irish in Lower Roxbury. Following World War II, Boston's black community expanded considerably and by the late 1950's a large proportion of Lower Roxbury was black and the Dudley Station area became and has remained the most important center for Boston's Black community.

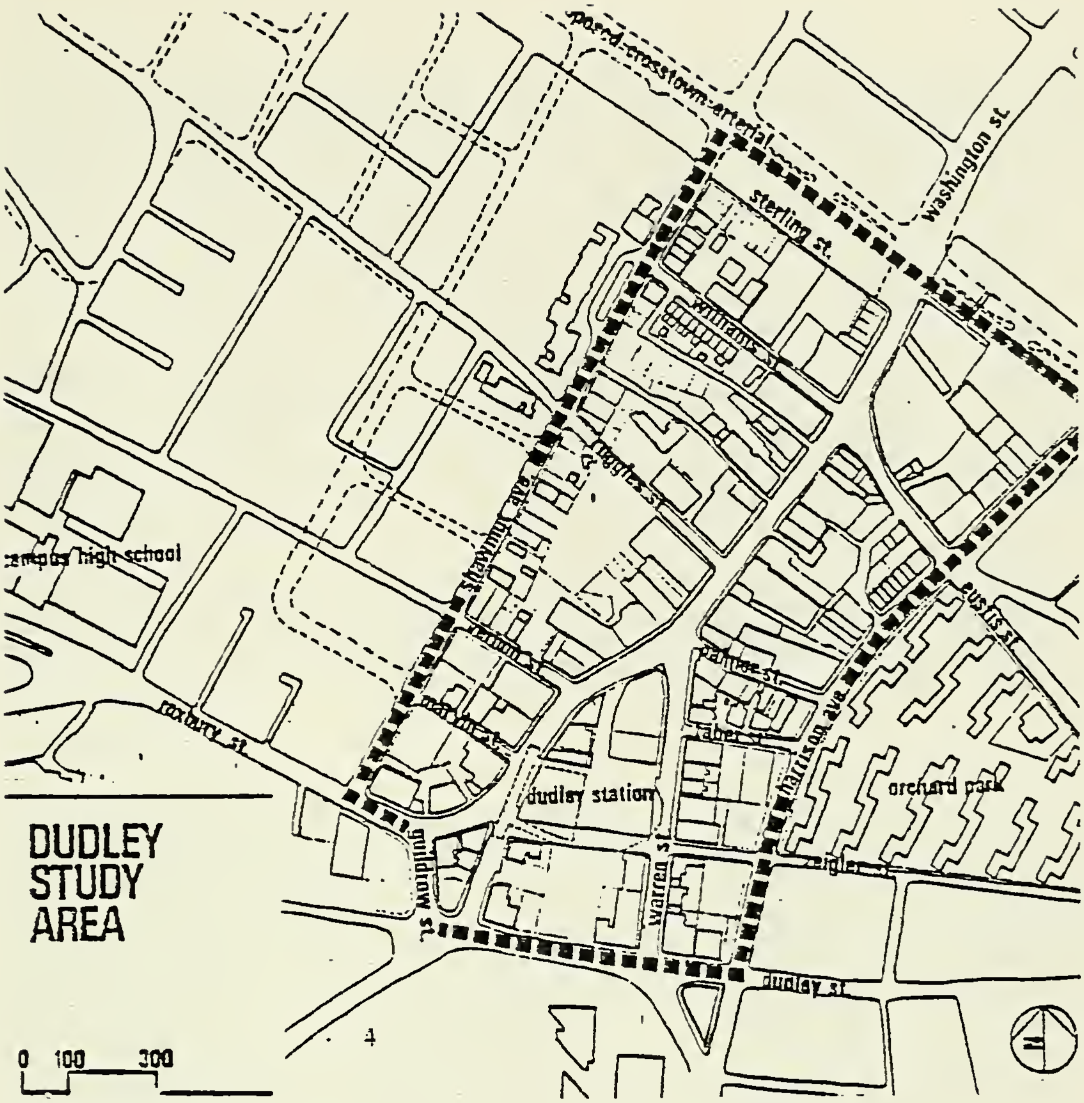


In the last thirty years, the area has suffered a decline in trade, not unlike many older urban commercial districts. This decline has been marked by a shift from retail to service and institutional use and an increase in unpaved vacant lots and unused upper stories. Buildings have been lost to arson. The area's image to both users and outsiders has been, on the one hand, one of decay, and, on the other, one of liveliness and of being a "center".

Study Areas

For the purposes of this study, we will be looking closely at two areas, both defined by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Total Studio Report on Dudley, Spring, 1975: one, the "Dudley Primary Trade Area", and, two, the "Dudley Study Area", the 32 acre area that contains the main commercial enterprises and transportation exchanges in the Dudley Station area. The Study Area corresponds with community perception and with various studies undertaken of the area . The "Dudley Primary Trade Area" includes 1970 and 1980 U.S. census tracts 803-08, 816 and 817. The "Dudley Study Area" is bordered by Shawmut and Harrison Streets on the west and east, by Melnea Cass Boulevard on the north and Dudley Street on the south.





Physical and Land Use

Washington Street serves as a unifying spine for the Dudley area and commercial and street activities are focused here. Buildings along Washington Street are mainly three and four stories, although they range from one to eight stories. Some buidlings have significant architectural value. The El currently runs along Washington Street; the noise and vibration of the El probably account for the mainly vacant residential spaces above the commercial spaces on the ground floor. Some light industry is still to be found in these upper stories. Retail space also lines Warren Street on the other side of Dudley Station. As you move away from the retail on Washington and Warren Streets, land within the Study Area is less intensely used. A scrap yard, a large piece of vacant land and a small amount of housing can be found along the west side of Harrison Avenue. On the east side of Shawmut Avenue, there is a municipal parking lot, a small amount of commercial, residential and institutional uses.

Just outside of the Study Area, to the south of Dudley Street is the 15 year old Roxbury Municipal Center with a library, police station and court house. To the west of Shawmut is the attractive subsidized housing--394 family units and 132 elderly--developed and managed by Lower Roxbury Community Corporation. Further to the west, along New Dudley Street is the relatively new Madison Park High School and the Hubert Humphrey Occupational Resource Center. To the southwest is Highland Park, a mixed-income community where the Roxbury Action Program has developed 112 units of subsidized family and 166 units of subsidized elderly housing and is now involved with further housing and commercial development. To the east of Harrison is the 774 unit Orchard Park family public housing development. Although this development is currently considered by some merchants as a negative influence on the area, it is presently being rehabilitated and will soon by rented to capacity.

According to a study completed in 1983 by the Replacement/Transit Improvement Study, the land use pattern within the Dudley Station Area was as shown in Table 1 on the following page ("Land Use Survey--Dudley Station Area").(1)

Transportation

All types of transportation are important to the vitality of the Dudley business area--the Orange Line, buses, auto (personal and taxi), and walking. Dudley Station serves as a major transfer point between buses and rapid transit. Roxbury and North Dorchester have the lowest ratio of automobile ownership to population in the city and there is heavy reliance on public transportation. Buses on radial routes currently feed riders to the Orange Line from Roxbury. North Dorchester and part of Jamaica Plain. Buses on crosstown routes connect Dudley Station to employment centers and services in Cambridge, Brighton, Brookline, Kenmore Square. Brigham Circle Medical Area, City Hospital and City Point.
The Dudley area is also a major crossroads for auto traffic within Roxbury. Washington Street is the central spine of the neighborhood street system and is a major north-south street from the South End to Jamaica Plain. Other routes to Grove Hall, North Dorchester and Mattapan all converge at Dudley. Dudley Street and the partially completed New Dudley Street and especially the arterial Melnea Cass Boulevard are major crosstown (east-west) routes between North Dorchester, Dudley and the Jamaica Plain-Lower Roxbury area.

Parking in the Dudley area is considered insufficient--there are about 300 on-street spaces and 150 spaces in the municipal lot.

Population

According to the U.S. Census, population in the Primary Trade Area has declined steadily, although the rate of decline was much less in the 1970's than in the previous decade. 1980 population was 15,933.

TABLE 1

LAND USE SURVEY--DUDLEY STATION AREA

Commercial Square Footage:

Use	Square Feet	Vacant Sq.Ft.	% Vacant
Retail	419,000	169,000	40%
Office	319,000	174,000	55%
Service	70,000	500	1%
Service-Financial	(26,000)*	500	1%
Total Commercial	800,000	344,000	43%

Number of Commercial Establishments

Use	Number	Number Vacant	% Vacant
Retail Units	95	23	24%
Office Units	34	23	68%
Service Units	14	1	7%
Service Financial	(3)*	0	100%

Industrial Square Footage:

Use	Square Feet	Vacant Sq.Ft.	% Vacant
Manufacturing	99,500	8,500	8%
Warehousing	39,000	2,000	5%
Total Industrial	138,000	10,500	8%

Number of Industrial Establishments

Use	Number	Number Vacant	% Vacant
Manufacturing Units	5	2	40%
Warehousing Units	4	1	20%

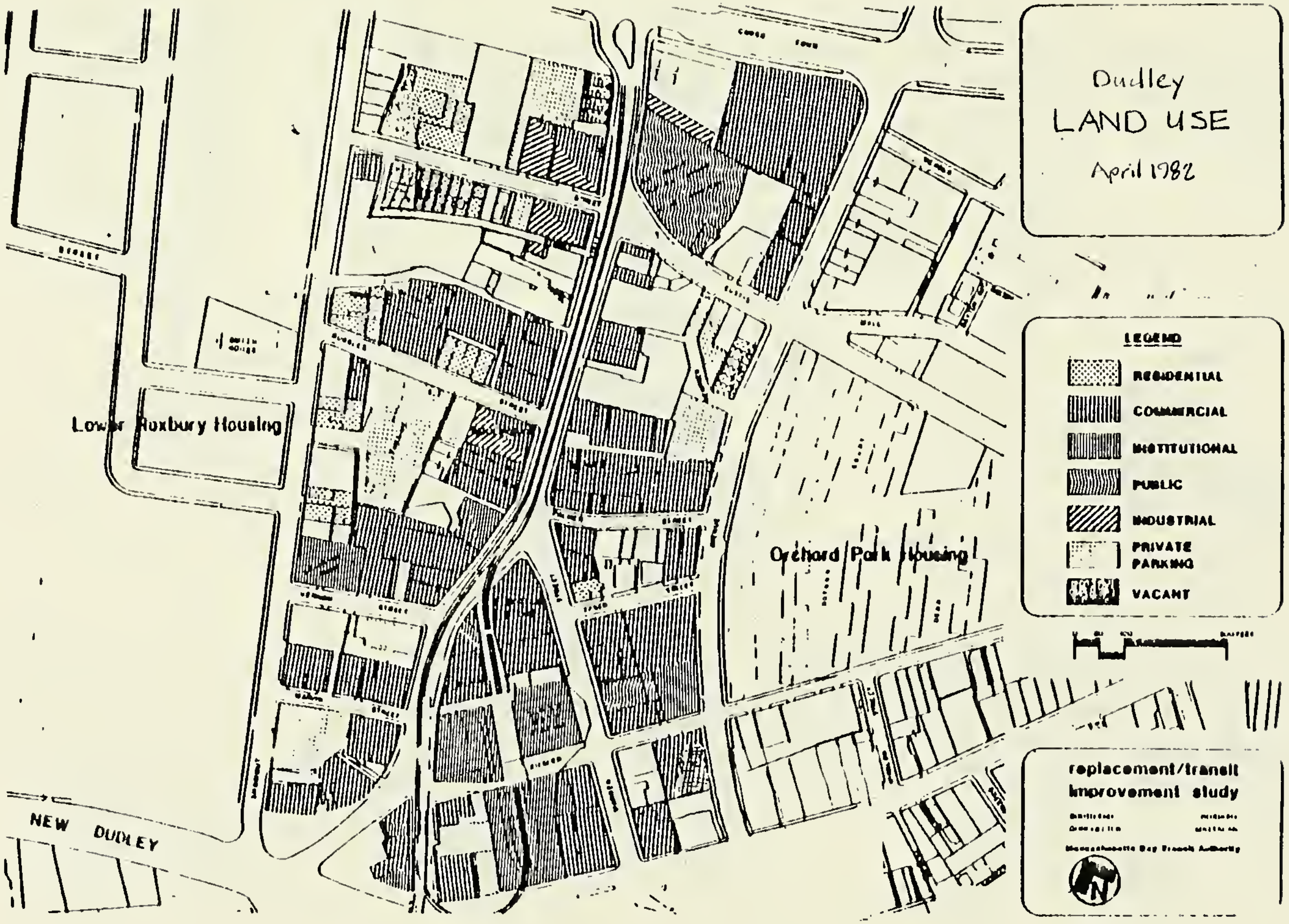
Other Uses--Square Footage:

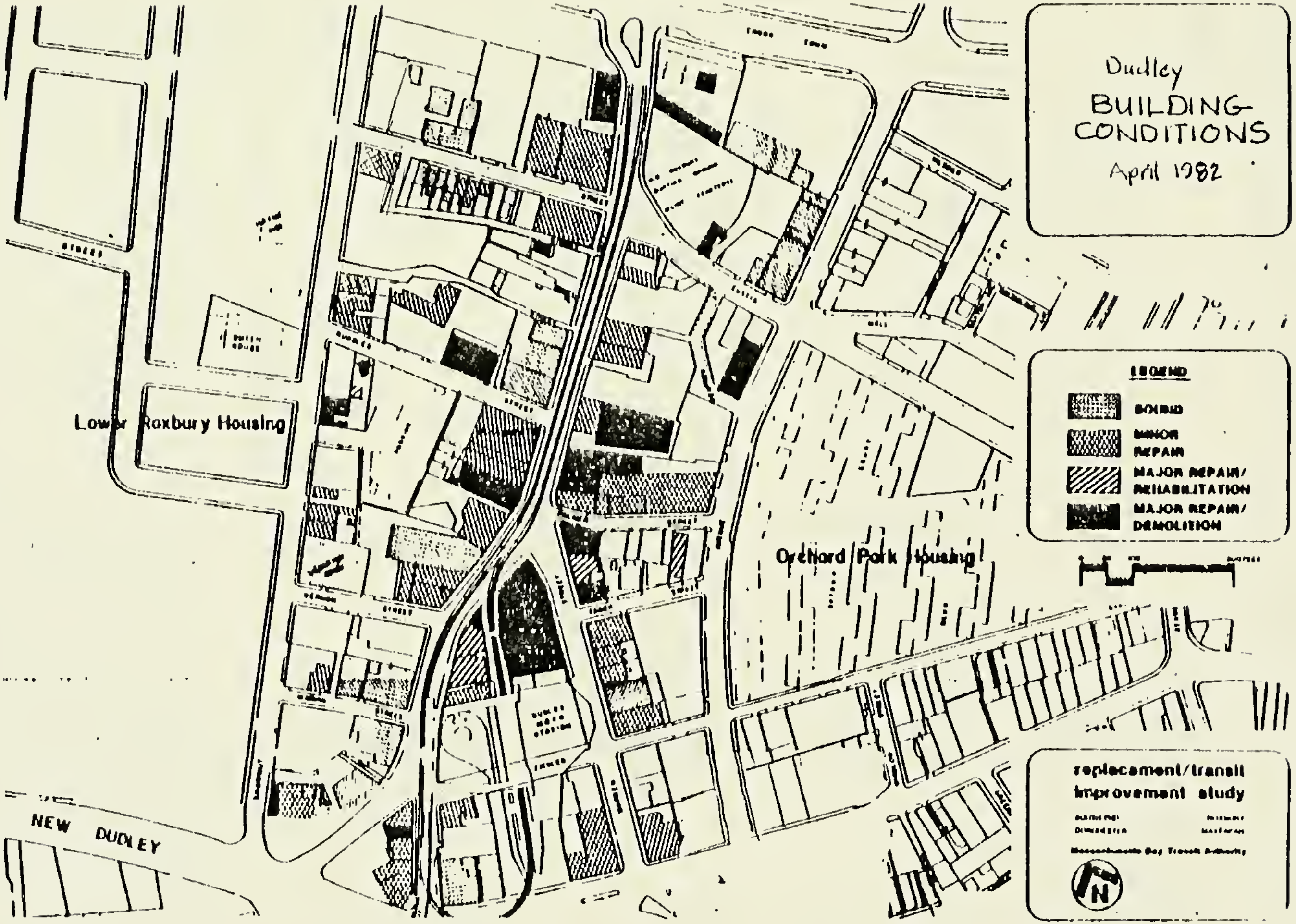
Use	Square Feet	Vacant Sq.Ft.	% Vacant
Residential	145,000	67,500	46%
Public	26,000	4,000	15%
Semi-Public	45,000	1,000	2%
Parking	196,000	-	-
Vacant Lots	246,000	-	-
Historic Property	54,500	-	-
Transportation	67,000	-	-
Transp. Utility	10.500	-	-
Utility	2,000	-	-

Number of Other Establishments

Use	Number	Number Vacant	% Vacant
Residential	150	67	44%
Public Agencies	5	2	40%
Semi-Public	7	1	14%
Parking Lots	16	-	-
Vacant Lots	30	-	-
Historic Sites	2	-	-
Transportation Site	2	-	-
Transp.Utility Site	1	-	-
Utility Unit	1	0	0%

*included in Service total


Dudley
LAND USE
April 1982
LEGEND
RESIDENTIAL
COMMERCIAL
INSTITUTIONAL
PUBLIC
INDUSTRIAL
PRIVATE PARKING
VACANT
replacement/transit
improvement study
Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority
Orchard Park Housing
Lower Roxbury Housing
NEW DUDLEY


Dudley
BUILDING CONDITIONS
April 1982
LEGEND
SOUND
MINOR REPAIR
MAJOR REPAIR/ REHABILITATION
MAJOR REPAIR/ DEMOLITION
Lower Roxbury Housing
Orchard Park Housing
NEW DUDLEY
replacement/transit
improvement study
N

In general, as the following Table 2 will show, this population is largely made up of people of color and is younger, poorer, with a higher unemployment rate and more heavily concentrated in less "prestigious" (and presumbably less remunerative) occupations than is the population of the city as a whole.

TABLE 2	Primary Trade Area	Boston
Income:		
Median Household	$8,288	$12,530
Per Capita	4,145	6,555
% Below Poverty Level	32.1%	20.2%
Employment:		
% of Population in Labor Force	38.2%	54.7%
% of Labor Force w/Unemplmnt in 1979	26.2%	20.0%
% of Labor Force w/More Than 15 Weeks Unemploymnt in 1979	11.5%	6.5%
% of Families With No Worker	31.4%	21.0%
Workforce:		
% Managerial/Professional	19.2%	26.0%
% Technical, Sales, Admin.Support	30.1%	34.3%
% Service Occupations	27.0%	18.4%
% Farming, Forestry, Fishing	.4%	.4%
% Precision Productn,Craft, Repair	5.2%	7.7%
% Operators, Fabricators, Laborers	18.1%	13.2%
Racial/Ethnic Distribution:		
% White	5.3%	70.0%
% Black	82.7%	22.4%
% American Indian	.3%	.2%
% Asian	.4%	2.7%
% Other	11.3%	4.7%
% Spanish Origin (of any race)	14.3%	6.4%

Organizations and Institutions

The Dudley Station Area of Roxbury has particular importance because it is one of the major center for Boston's black community. The area is organizationally very active as well as complex. It is the focus of a number of community based organizations, the place which the community often chooses for demonstrations, rallies and other events which articulate its sentiments. It is also the location of a number of commercial establishments aimed at the city's black population and the focus if not the location of a number of city and state agencies aimed at that community.

The State is represented by the Southwest Corridor Project, which is the subject for later analysis. The organs of city government include the Boston Redevelopment Authority, Neighborhood Development

and Employment Agency and the Department of Public Works. It is very significant that although these various agencies have jurisdiction over the area and in fact focus various staff members or departments on the area none have significant offices located here.

Local agencies and organizations in the area include the Dudley Station Merchant's Association, tenants' organizations from the Orchard Park Development and other areas, and various Community Development Corporations. The latter are particularly well developed in the area, have generally excellent track records compared to CDC's in other communities, and play an important role in the organizational and political life of the Dudley area.

There are also a number of institutions that are located in or adjacent to the Study Area. This includes the Roxbury Police Station, a Welfare Office, a Food Stamp Office, the Humphrey Vocational School and the Madison Park High School.

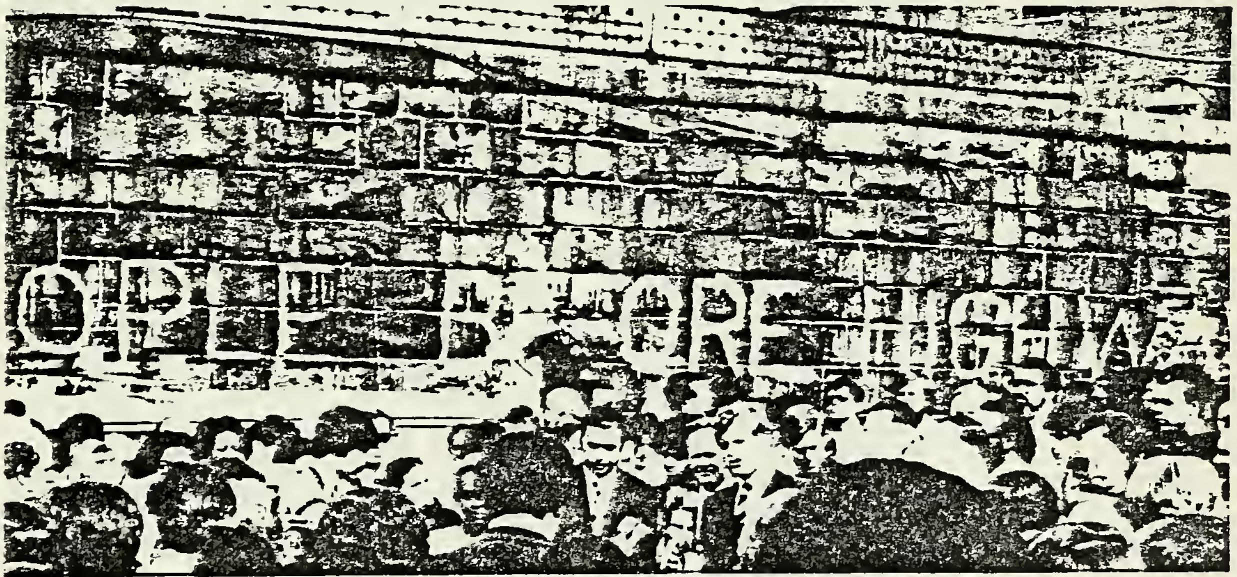
TRANSPORTATION

The Southwest Corridor Project

The 1948 Master Highway Plan for Eastern Massachusetts called for the construction of a series of new highways. One of these was I-95, an eight lane highway connecting Route 128, the outer ring highway surrounding Boston, to downtown Boston. Closely related was the plan for an "inner belt" circumferential highway which was to cut a swath through various districts of Boston, Cambridge, and Somerville In the late 60's, the Massachusetts Department of Public Works began clearing the path of the highway by tearing down homes and businesses in parts of Roxbury and Jamaica Plain, displacing hundreds of families and disrupting long-established community patterns.

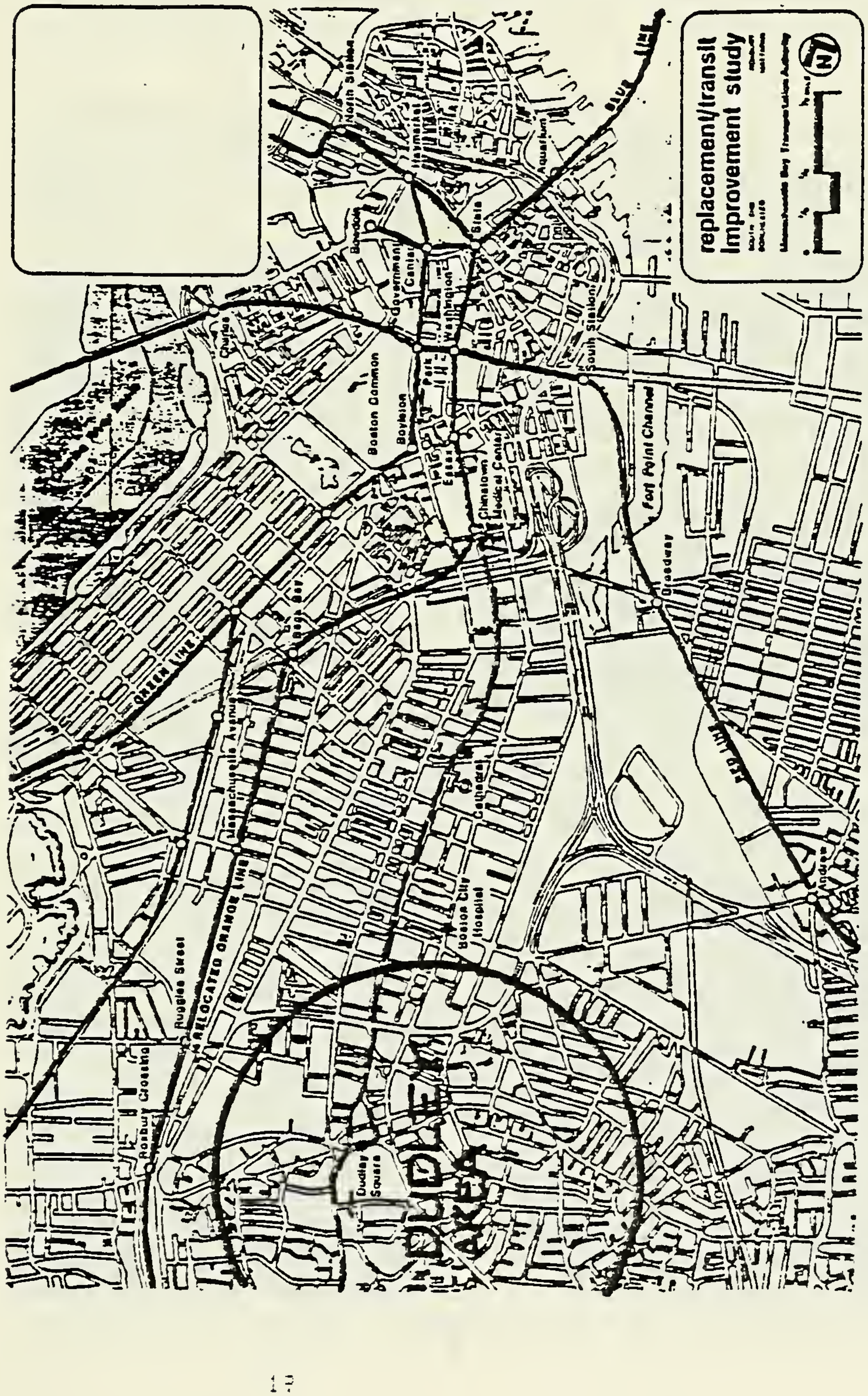
Massive community resistance was mounted to oppose the highway and any futher demolition. From communities as diverse as Milton, Boston, Cambridge and Somerville--in fact from anywhere along the proposed path of this highway--existing and newly formed groups joined together to stop I-95. It was a rare occurence in the history of the Boston area when communities joined together across race and class lines to form the "Coalition to Stop I-95."

By 1970, the Coalition was able to win from Governor Francis W. Sargent a moratorium on highway construction within Route 128. Sargent then commissioned a regional transportation study (the Boston Transportation Planning Review--BTPR) to evaluate transportation needs and generate alternative transportation strategies. As a result of BTPR recommendations, in 1972, Sargent cancelled plans to build I-95 into Boston and recommended that the land already cleared through southwest Boston be used for a relocated Orange Line.

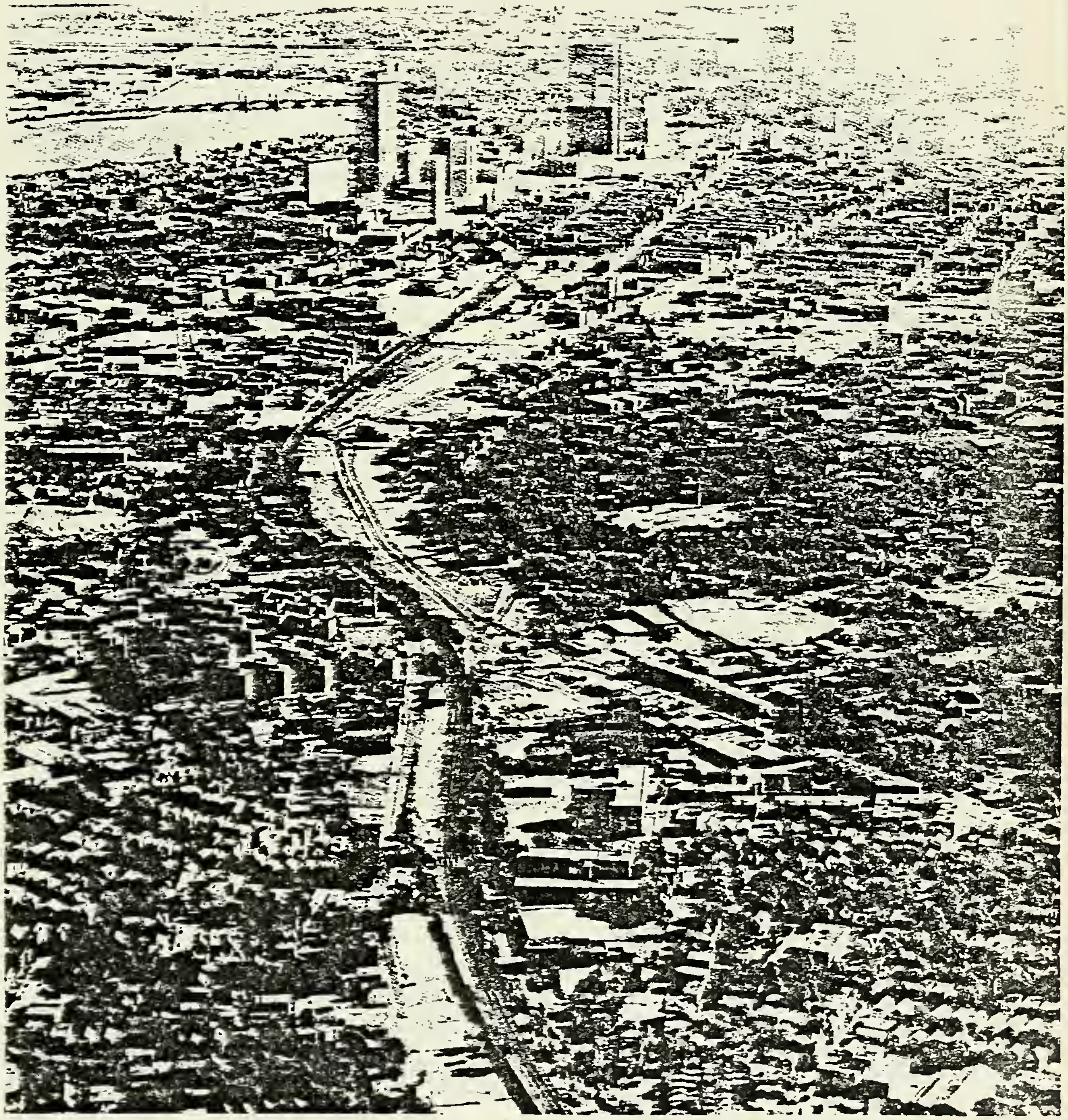


U.S. Senators Edward Kennedy and Edward Brooke announce *Federal* grant on August 11, 1978.

Although there was nearly unanimous support for the new Orange Line amongst community groups with whom BTPR staff consulted--primarily those groups active in the Stop I-95 Coalition and located along the proposed I-95 corridor--even at this early point, strong reservations were expressed by groups in the Roxbury and North Dorchester areas who worried that they would not be well served by the relocated Orange Line because it would be much further away from the heart of the black community.



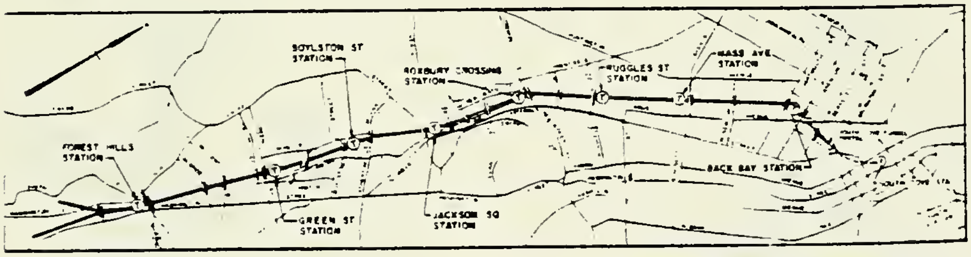
The next problem was getting money to build the new Orange Line and to develop the Southwest Corridor. Up to this time, the Highway Trust Funds that had been allocated for I-95 could only be used in highway construction, not mass transit. With the aid of community organizing and political pressure, Massachusetts was able to win a landmark decision from the Federal Department of Transportaion which, in 1974, transferred the money set aside for the construction of I-95 to the Urban Mass Transportation Administration (UMTA) for the express purpose of building the new Orange Line, which along with related development projects is now known as the Southwest Corridor Project (SWCP).



Aerial view of the Southwest Corridor, looking from Boylston Street in Jamaica Plain toward downtown Boston.

Until the BTPR, popular participation around the issue of the Southwest Corridor had consisted of various forms of massive, sometimes militant organized opposition to the highway--this is the main reason the movement succeeded. Once the state decided to build the current Corridor Project instead of I-95, participation entered what may be called its "institutional" phase. Where otherwise divergent groups had been able to unite in oppostion to I-95, building unity around positive proposals for re-use of the cleared land was more difficult. In this situation, differences in ethnic, economic and social characteristics come to the foreground. As a result, a particularly complex community participation process was undertaken in an attempt to overcome differences between and even within neighborhoods. An entity of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the MBTA was created, the Southwest Corridor Project, and a "Memorandum of Understanding" signed by this entity and the numerous groups engaged in the I-95 opposition. There were many components to this memorandum, but two are particularly relevant to the subject at hand: 1) the SWCP was to organize a complex process of citizen's participation, funded with a percentage of the planning dollars for the project; and 2) the project would undertake a serious study of the impact of removing the current Orange Line.

One of the victories which the popular movement against the highway won as a concession from the state was a serious participatory process to plan and design the project. The result is indeed intensive and has included large numbers of people. In time, however, the independent movement which stopped I-95 and gave rise to the project in the first place was demobilized, either dissolved or absorbed by the project. What began with demands for control did result in considerable benefits for the community, but not control by those community groups. The community was eventually relegated to participation only in an advisory capacity.



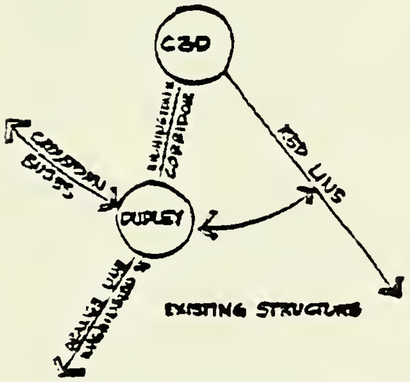
Southwest Corridor Project

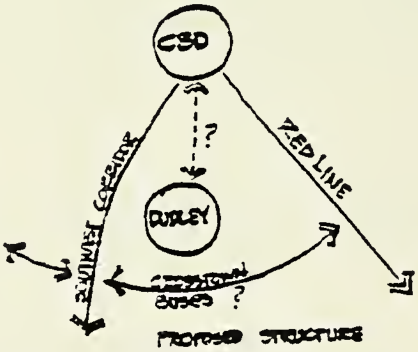
Physically, the new Southwest Corridor has already effected a major transformation of the face of that section of the city. The transit system includes nine new stations: South Cove, Back Bay, Massachusetts Avenue, Ruggles Street (at Northeastern University), Roxbury Crossing, Jackson Square, Boylston Street, Green Street and Forest Hills. A considerable amount of new housing has been built on land originally cleared for the highway, as well as major institutional construction. Major other improvement projects are associated with the Corridor.

Besides a participatory process, one of the demands of the movement against the highway was that the area of the city currently serviced by the Orange Line Elevated Transit Line continue to receive proper transit service after the "El" is removed. The effort to study the impact of the Orange Line removal has been institutionalized into the Replacement Transit Improvement Study, or R/TIS. Considerable work has been done: the final Environmental Impact Statement is due soon, and the effort cannot be properly evaluated until then. It can be said that the study has produced significant information about the area. Indeed many of the graphics and some of the data used in this report comes from work done by the R/TIS. Many merchants, local residents, and community development corporations are concerned that the R/TIS may concentrate too much on transportation and not enough on issues such as economic and social impacts of the Orange Line removal. Hopefully this study can make a contribution in this area.

Transportation Alternatives

Currently the structure of the of public transportation in Boston is radial. Spokes radiate from the Central Business District (CBD) out to the city's residential neighborhoods and beyond to the suburbs. These spokes consist of the various heavy rail lines, and the various branches of the light rail or trolley tracks called the Green Line. Complimenting this system is a series of radially aligned commuter rail tracks. In the southern sector of the city, the southeast spoke consists of the Red Line, with two branches, one ending in Ashmont and another ending in Braintree. The southwest spoke currently consist of the Washington Street Corridor, serviced by the Orange Line ending in Forest Hills, with Dudley Station currently a major stop on this line.





The Orange Line is being relocated to an alignment somewhat west of the current Washigton Street Corridor. Along with the Amtrak intercity lines, it will be depressed and partially enclosed in a tunnel along the old Penn Central embankment route, into the Southwest Corridor. This leaves the Dudley area, curently on the path of one of the transportation spokes, outside the radial service. Furthermore, Dudley is a major trasnsportation node. It

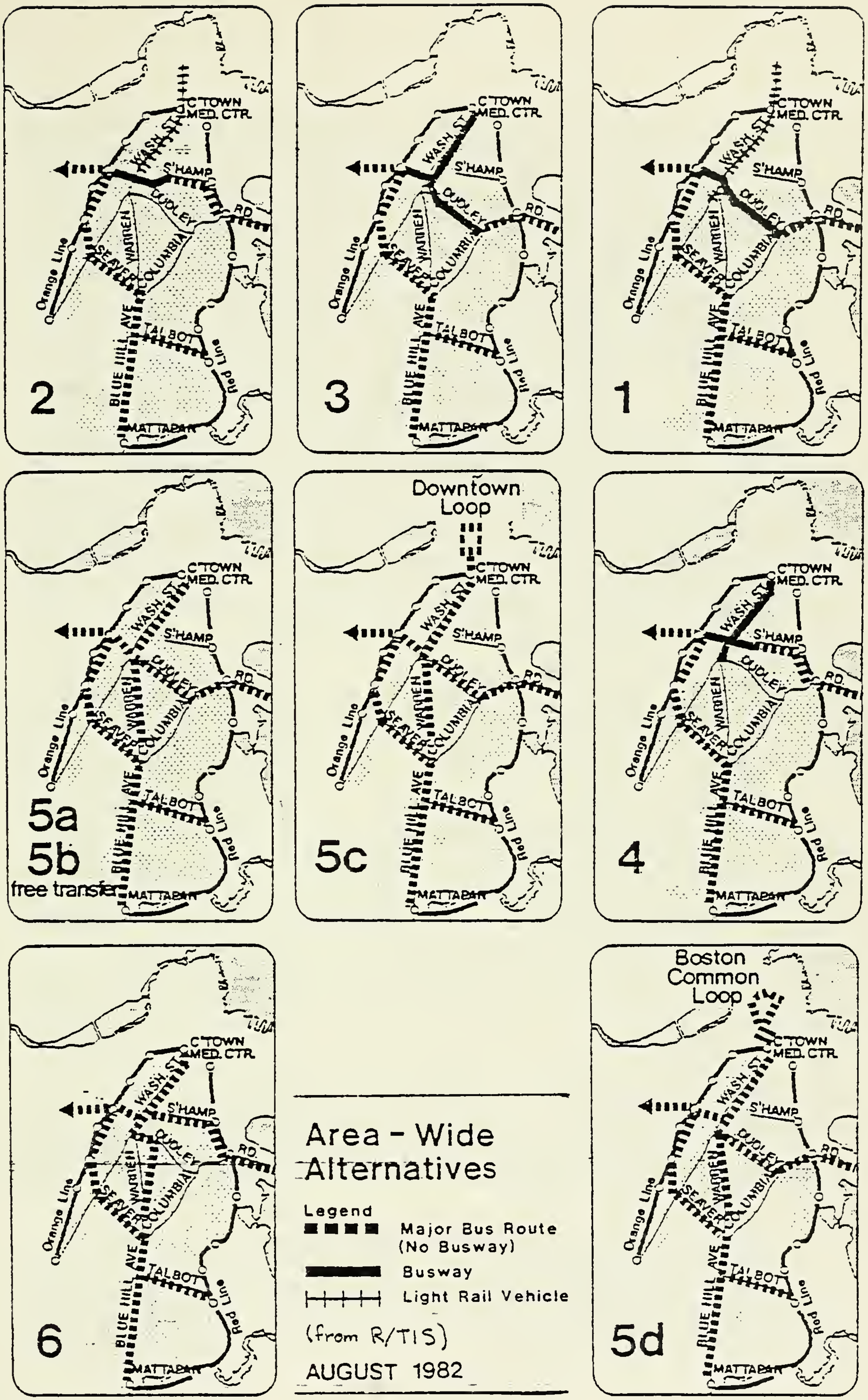
is not only a major stop on the Orange Line, but numerous bus lines originate and end in this terminal. These buses in turn serve as the circumferential or "crosstown" connectors in the radial structure of the city's transportation structure. In terms of transportation, the current plan is to move these functions to the new stations on the new Orange Line.

This situation raises a series of issues which the R/TIS study attempts to address. First of all, the radial transit service currently provided by the Orange Line along the Washington Street Corridor will have to be replaced, although there is debate about the level of service necessary. The alternatives are Light Rail, busways (buses in a separated, designated lane) and plain old buses. The Light Rail or LRV can carry the highest volume, and is faster than the others, but since it runs along a radial spoke it can be argued that it competes with the other heavy rails spokes in the sector: the Red and especially the new Orange Line. Second, the circumferential function of the current Dudley Station will also have to be replaced. This includes issues about the type of transit service needed, but also about the route desirable for the new crosstown corridor. Third and most important, these transportation decisions are certain to have a profound impact on the future development, the economic situation and therefore the social fabric of the Dudley area. This study will not attempt to investigate the merit of the transportation issues, but will instead attempt to focus on the economic impact of the transit decisions. It is important, however to understand the transportation options being explored by the R/TIS in order to place the development question in the proper perspective.

The most recently R/TIS published report is called Interim Findings Report, published April, 1982. This Phase II Summary Report proposes six alternatives for replacing the current Orange Line Elevated on Washington Street and improving services in the Crosstown Corridor between Columbia Point and the soon-to-be relocated Orange Line at Ruggles Street (see diagrams on following page).

Three different modes of transportation have been under discussion for the replacement corridor: Light rail vehicles (LRV's) at grade on an exclusive street reservation; busways (buses on an exclusive street reservation); and buses in mixed traffic.

LRV's come closest to approaching current Orange Line service in terms of travel time, ridership and convenience. The LRV would provide a one-seat ride to downtown with free transfer to all MBTA railines. The R/TIS report concludes that LRV's would have the highest number of riders and would promote the greatest economic development in the Dudley area. Although the removal of the elevated structure Washington Street should remove a nuisance and therefore stimulate development, it would not be sufficient. Economic development is partly a function of the level of public



Area - Wide Alternatives

Legend

■ ■ ■ ■	Major Bus Route (No Busway)
▬▬▬	Busway
┼┼┼┼┼	Light Rail Vehicle

(from R/TIS)

AUGUST 1982

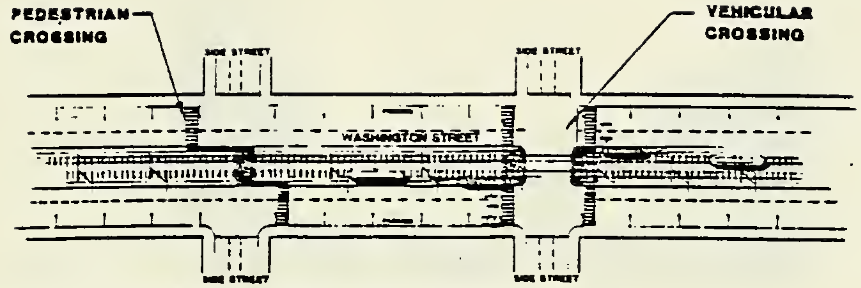
investment and permanence and this would be provided by the LRV. A further problem is presented by the fact that a major nuisance is sometime a protection from speculators for working class and minority communities. These are development-related issues however and will be discussed later. The LRV option would also provide the largest number of people with service that comes within a 1/2 mile walk of their destination. LRV's are the alternative with the highest capital cost. Because they would necessitate the installation of new power lines and construction disruption would also occur. Alternatives 1 and 2 on the preceeding page show LRV service on Washington Street, going intown underground at the currently unused Tremont Street/Green Line tunnel.

Busways do impact on circulation and require the removal of some onstreet parking. They are also heavily dependent on traffic enforcement. As with the LRV's, busways would require some property taking and construction disruptions. But they would also provide the second fastest service to downtown (next to the LRV's), increase ridership and have a beneficial economic impact on the Dudley Station neighborhood. Alternatives 3 and 4 (see preceeding page) show busways that would extend along Washington Street with a bus loop terminating at Chinatown/Tufts New England Medical Center.

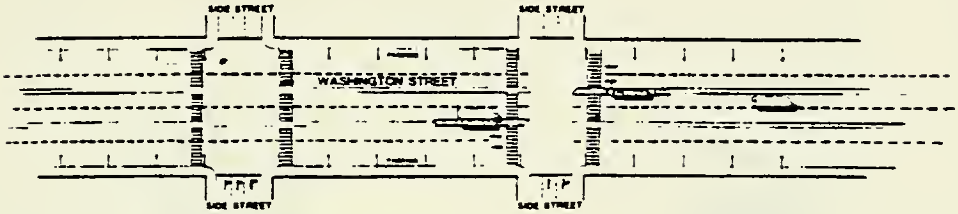
Alternatives 5a, b, c, d and 6 (see preceeding page) show buses in mixed traffic running primarily on Washington Street along with bus loops. The bus loops that are being considered are the Chinatown/TNEMC Loop (5a and 5b), the Downtown Crossing Loop (5c), and the Boston Common Loop (5d). In terms of service--speed, reliability, and convenience of transfers, buses in mixed traffic are the least desirable alternative. Ridership would go down, necessitating more parking spaces. This alternative would do little to stimulate economic investment. If anything, it would accelerate disinvestment to the extent that development is linked to investment and permanence. Buses in mixed traffic allow the greatest flexibility as they involve the least immovable capital investment. They do no impact greatly on vehicular and pedestrian circulation and, in general, do not pose any great traffic control problems. Construction disruption, as well as capital expenditure, is minimal.

The R/TIS also evaluated effectiveness, efficiency and equity of the four options in the Crosstown Corridor. The alternatives considered were: Dudley Street Busway (alternatives 2 and 4; see preceeding page). Dudley Street Bus in mixed traffic (alternatives 5a. b, c, and d) and a Melnea Cass Boulevard bus in mixed traffic (alternative 6).

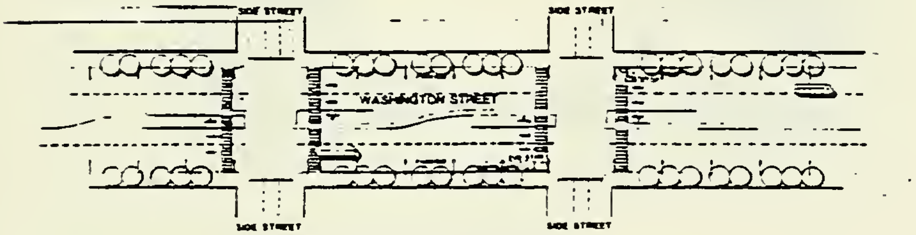
The routing of a Crosstown Corridor has not been as extensively studied as the downtown options. All alternatives would provide increased crosstown bus service and consequently lower travel time overall. Increased transit service would also stimulate economic development along the route chosen. All alternatives were more cost



TWO WAY LIGHT RAIL VEHICLES (CENTER RESERVATION)

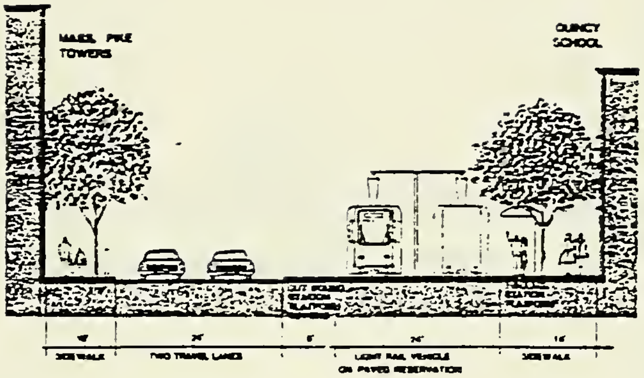


TWO WAY BUSWAY (CENTER RESERVATION)

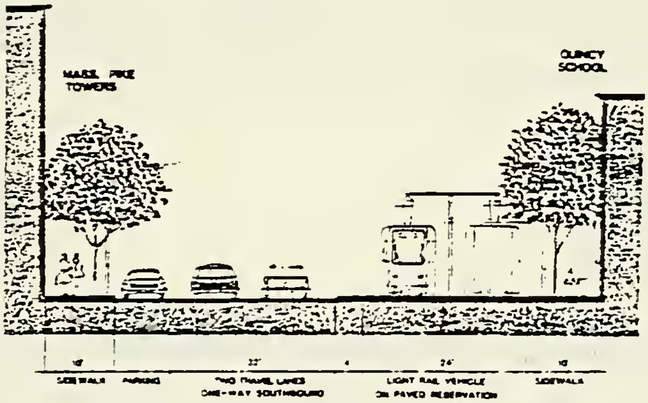


BUS IN MIXED TRAFFIC

replacement/transit improvement study	Figure 3 Typical Washington St. Plans

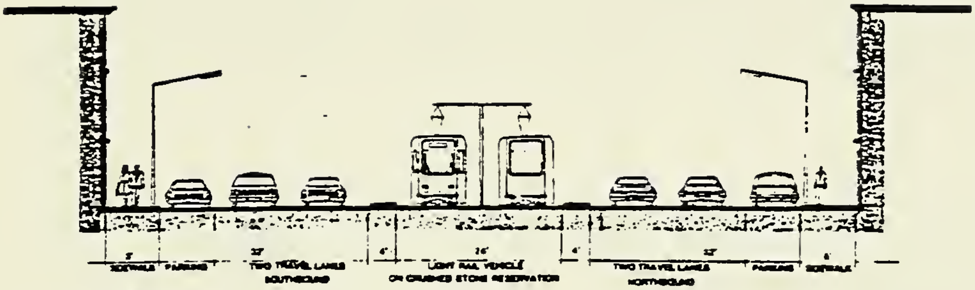


LIGHT RAIL W/ STATION (OPTION A)

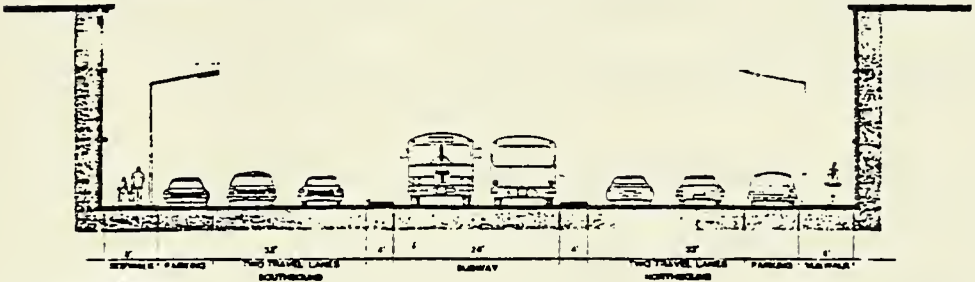

MASS. PIKE TOWERS
QUINCY SCHOOL
10'
32'
4
24'
10'
SIDEWALK
PARKING
TWO TRAVEL LANES ONE-WAY SOUTHBOUND
LIGHT RAIL VEHICLE ON PAVED RESERVATION
SIDEWALK

LIGHT RAIL WITHOUT STATION (OPTION B)

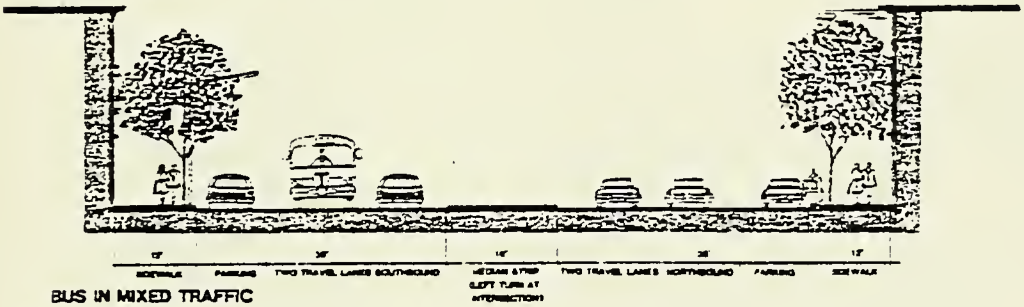
replacement/transit improvement study	Figure 9 Shawmut Ave. Cross-Sections for Light Rail in the Vicinity of Chinatown/Medical Center Station


4'
4'
6'
SIDEWALK
PARKING
TWO TRAVEL LANES SOUTHBOUND
LIGHT RAIL VEHICLE ON CRUSHED STONE RESERVATION
TWO TRAVEL LANES NORTHBOUND
PARKING
SIDEWALK

TWO WAY LIGHT RAIL



TWO WAY BUSWAY


SIDEWALK
PARKING
TWO TRAVEL LANES SOUTHBOUND
MEDIAN STRIP (LEFT TURN AT INTERSECTION)
TWO TRAVEL LANES NORTHBOUND
PARKING
SIDEWALK

BUS IN MIXED TRAFFIC

replacement/transit improvement study	Figure 4 Typical Washington St. Cross-Sections

effective than a no-build alternative. The alternatives selected for futher study consist of various bus routes for a crosstown study.

Although the final R/TIS report has not been released as of this writing, our interview with Peter Calcaterra, Project Director of the R/TIS and Administrator of the Southwest Corridor Project, provided us with some understanding of the factors involved in making the final alternative transit decisions. In very brief form, these are:

• **Focusing on fewer alternatives:** Busways have been found to be impractical given the driving patterns in Boston and the United States in general. This eliminates a few alternatives (#3 and #4) previously under consideration. The remaining alternatives are based on the combinations of two options for the Washington Street Corridor and two options for the crosstown corridors. These are:

- LRV on the Washington Street Corridor; crosstown bus at Melnea Cass Boulevard;
- LRV on the Washington Street Corridor; crosstown bus at Massachusetts Avenue;
- No LRV--bus on the Washington Street Corridor; crosstown bus at Massachusetts Avenue.

Of these options, the crucial one is the Washington Street decision. The route taken for the crosstown corridor bus can be changed with minor implications, since several stations on both the Red Line and the new Orange Line could act as terminals for such a bus, and since a bus route requires little fixed capital investment.

• UMTA is currently not convinced of the value of building an LRV on Washington Street on the ground of **current and expected transportation demand.** They have raised the issue that it must be demonstrated that an LRV on Washington Street would not draw ridership away from the other radial transit spokes. particularly the new Orange Line. It has been argued that the LRV is necessary for adequate public transportation in the area because it would service the most transit-dependent population in the metropolitan area. This is a transportation issue and is beyond the scope of this study area. What this study does explore is the ways in which transit can itself help to generate development which in turn can generate increased demand for transit.

• **The funding environment is such that the LRV decision has to be made in the immediate future.** If funds for the LRV are not approved within one year, as part of the SWCP and R/TIS process, then the likelihood of funds being approved in a 20 year horizon is minimal.

- There are a number of **technical engineering problems** which are currently being investigated and which can affect the LRV decision. The main ones are:
    - The location of a portal for the LRV to enter the Green Line underground network in Chinatown: There are two possible locations for this portal; the least expensive one is strongly opposed by a portion of the Chinatown community, which fears it will further disrupt an already over-congested community. It is feasible to build the slightly more expensive portal and meet the demands of both Asian and black communites regarding the LRV.
    - The second focus for engineering difficulties occurs on Washington Street in front of the Holy Cross Cathedral in the South End, where the street is not wide enough for two-way automobile traffic and the LRV. This can be solved by extending the one-way section of Washington Street a few blocks south.
    - Finally, the narrow streets of the Dudley Station Study Area present some technical difficulties which can also be addressed through comprehensive design.

In general, the technical problems are solvable as long as the will to solve them is there.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Appendix 10: Land Use and Building Conition Surveys in the R/TIS Study Area; Phase II, Replacement/Transit Improvement Study, MBTA Contract No. 065-014, June 1983, Submitted by John Brown Associates and Greater Roxbury Development Corporation.

SECTION II

STUDY METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE page 32
GENERATION AND SELECTION OF SCENARIOS page 37

STUDY METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE

Predicting the economic impact of relocating the Orange Line is a particularly difficult task for several reasons. First and foremost, we are studying indirect impacts in an urban area, not impacts confined to a specific site where a particular project is taking place. This makes the projection of impacts very difficult; often planners consider this type of projection a "near impossibility" and do not even attempt to quantify them.(1) Secondly, while we are concentrating on the economic impacts of eliminating a transit line, the process of urban economic development is a complex one and the connection between development and transit difficult to quantify. The connection between transit and economic development is in fact evident and has been empirically established, but it is impossible to isolate from other factors which affect the development of an urban area.

Impact assessment is essentially a future-oriented, predictive activity. As such, it has much in common with technological forecasting, a discipline developed by the U.S. Military for the purpose of predicting the impact of technological development. In fact some of the literature of technological forecasting considers impact assessment a branch of the discipline. Because it is concerned with predicting the future, a chance endeavor at best, impact assessment also has something in common with sooth-saying, prophecy and other perhaps less reputable and less scientific activities. Despite this, there is considerable experience and practice in the field, which leads to fairly credible methods and standards for impact assessment. The problem becomes one of finding an appropriate structure and methods for the problem at hand.

Method and structure are inextricably intertwined in impact assessment. However,despite the risk of oversimplification, method will be discussed first, structure later. This report considers "structure" to mean the particular sequence of steps leading to predictions and the use of alternative predictions to make decisions. By method is meant the particular formulas or approaches used to calculate quantitative projections.

The traidtional approach to impact assessment can be exemplified by MIT's Environmental Impact Project in their manual,Evaluating Development Impacts.(2) In this excellent manual, developed for citizen's groups in small cities in Massachusetts, there is a suggested structure (to be discussed later), a checklist, and a compendium of formulae collected from a great variety of sources. The checklist allows a user to identify an item for exploration. The formulae allow the user to calculate an impact for the particular item. Based on these process, quantitative methods have been collected which can allow a practitioner to predict correlations: a certain number of jobs for X square feet of new commercial space, for instance, or traffic trips generated during peak hours by a

proposed development of Y housing units in a particular size mix. The potential impact of a project is developed by aggregating the impacts of particular development in various categories. The whole is considered the sum of its parts. Essential to this model is the ability to isolate a decision, and a resulting outcome, for evaluation.

There are various traditional approaches to impact assessment, which vary according to the type of community under consideration, the data available, the type of impacts being projected, and other factors. Burchell and Listokin, for example, list six approaches for the projection of fiscal impacts.(3) Some of these are based on large data bases for various cities which have been analyzed to provide a series of empirically derived rules of thumb, correlations and trends. For example, using these methods, the fiscal impact of a project attributable to educational costs can be estimated by using the average cost/pupil. Other methods use analogous cities to provide empirical data from which to make projections. Still others estimate, potential revenues of a project by comparing municipal costs of incoming facilities to the facilities proportion of total property valuation. Besides being inapplicable to an impact study necessarily evaluating indirect impacts, these methods are restricted to fiscal impacts. They do, however, provide models of the kinds of correlations and projections which can be used to project quantitative impacts. Various surveys of methods and techniques applicable to impact assessment are briefly outlined below. Some of these, as we shall see, are applicable to various pieces of the task at hand, but they contribute little to the structure and organization of the study.

The development of an urban area is a complex process in which a huge number of factors impact on one another. Trends such as gentrification affect markets for commercial development which affect lending patterns of financial institutions. Public housing policy, public safety, the form of bureaucratic organization at the municipal level, transportation, community organization...these are all factors intertwined in complex systems where any variable can affect all others. In a situation like this, the behavior of the complex system is impossible to predict from the aggregation of observations. It is also difficult to isolate the the impact of a single decision, such as the decision to build or not to build an LRV on Washington Street. Instead, the entire complex system must be analyzed and the probable behavior of the larger system, and its connections to the environment must be evaluated. This means that the traditional cluster impact assessment methods which consists of predicting impacts by categories--traffic, parking, fiscal impacts, etc.--is not completely useful for a study of the Dudley area.

In considering method "the technique which best depends upon the circumstances under which the forecaster is working; his needs, the reliability, completeness, and quantitative precision of the data

base; the purpose of the forecast; the length of the forecast period... furthermore, the technique should be compatible with and adaptable to the information available."(4) In this study we confront a future which is dependent on numerous factors, of which transportation is only one. Any full combination of factors immediately produces a huge number of potential futures. A method has to be found, therefore, which narrows the possible outcomes for consideration to a reasonable few. In addition, we are attempting to predict impacts in an urban area of the usual complexity, which is to say immense. In such a situation it is important to consider a piece of the urban fabric as a unit, in what Joseph Coates calls Comprehensive Impact Assessment as a form of holistic study.(5)

One form of holistic study can be the use of scenarios. According to Clark Abt, "implicit in every forecast and every decision about the future is a scenario or set of scenarios."(6) The use of scenarios was popularized in the late 50's and early 60's by cold warriors like Herman Kahn for military strategy but eventually applied to a variety of purposes. Although their usefulness has been clearly established, there has been scant work on a clear methodology for their development or generation.

One method simply consists of careful interviews of key actors, or, in more sexist traditional terminology, the "wise-old-man" method. The aim is having the interview directly generate the scenarios. This has the value of tapping accumulated experience, but the danger inherent in the bias of individual opinions. To compensate for this bias, a number of compensations have been developed. Delphi technique is based essentially on scenario writing through anonimous consensus among key actors. Various meeting techniques based on group psychology do essentially the same thing. "Iteration through synopsis" attempts to reconcile various disciplines approaching a particular prediction, such as economics and sociology.(7)

In "A Scenario Generating Methodology", Abt and others attempt to systematize the generation of scenarios for Environmental Impact Reviews with the use of computers.(8) Two major sets of factors generate the scenarios in this last approach: One set consists of various combinations of users or "consumers of the environment," and a second set of "variables" is determined by interviewing experts. The alliances of various combinations of actors in the first set of factors (e.g..poor and middle income consumers, government and industry) are explored as "world types" and evaluated for the probabilty that they will occurr. Interview with experts are carried out with the aim, not of predicting an outcome or scenario, but of identifying the key variables which affect outcome. Finally, a computer model combines "variables" and "world types" to generate scenarios.

This is a model of environmental conflict, where alliances around issues are relatively volatile. In considering a major urban issue,

the structure of class alliances, along with alliances among racial-national groups and interest groups has remained reasonably stable since WWII in most U.S. cities, Boston included. It is reasonably safe to make a prediction of these alliances on a 20-year basis if not of the outcome of their struggles. If this set of factors is held constant, the combinations of a few variables will still generate a large number of potential scenarios.

The major approach on which this study relies, then, is a modified version of the scenario generating methodology of Clark Abt. Interviewing of key actors and reviewing literature produced a series of variable which were combined to generate a large number of potential scenarios. Then, a set of criteria was devised to select a few scenarios for further study. Within the context of the selected scenarios, the study made eclectic and abundant use of the various quantitative techniques mentioned above. The rationale for the selection of the particular methods chosen is presented in the section, "Generation and Selection of Scenarios."

Once the scenario methodology was chosen, the selection of a structure was a simpler problem. The study adopted a modified structure suggested by the MIT Environmental Impact Project in, Evaluating Development Impact. That study proposes the following structure:

Step 1. Prepare for Major Development Projects...
Step 2. Screen Proposals...
Step 3. Structure Study Effort:

- Define the alternative decisions.
- Define the outcomes of each alternative and estimate their relative likelihoods.
- Define the comparison system.
  - Specify a consistent geographic scope for comparing impacts of different outcomes.
  - Establish a consistent baseline from which to measure change.
  - Establish a consistent time horizon.
- Select issues deserving detailed attention.
- Choose who will study each issue.

Step 4. Predict Impacts:

- Round off estimates; give ranges where possible.
- Measure impacts on different groups (if significant).
- Consider secondary impacts.

Step 5. Evaluate Impacts:

- Are impacts of one alternative better or worse than impacts of another alternative?
- What population groups will gain or lose (if any)?
- Highlight key choices.

Step 6. Use Findings in Decision.

In the modified structure, Step 1 was not relevant, and Step 2

emphasized the LRV construction, but concluded that, given the scenario approach, proposals--such as to build the LRV, bureaucratic reorganization,etc.--could not be studied separately but had instead to be "clustered" into scenarios. Steps 3 and 4 are the main substance of this study and are detailed below and in the section, "Scenarios". The evaluation of impacts (Step 5) is included in the "Findings". Step 6 has been modified into the "Recommendations".

THE GENERATION AND SELECTION OF SCENARIOS

Base Line and Time Horizon

For the baseline of the impact study the condition of the Dudley area in 1980, was chosen. A profile of the neighborhood was researched and written. Social, physical, political factors were considered, but the major purpose of the profile is to provide a series of current economic indicators for the area, such as the number of jobs, annual sales, number and types of businesses, square feet allocated to various building uses. Also considered was the demographic profile of the population residing in the vicinity and presumed to be part of the Dudley trade area (see page 10 for a map and list of the census tracts involved) Particular attention was also paid to economic factors such as income distribution and the structure of labor market participation. The section, "The Dudley Station Area" (page 8ff) summarizes the baseline, which has been detailed in each of the scenarios in the section, "Scenarios".

The next step was the selection of a "time-horizon", or the point in time used for estimating the impact of an event. The year 2001 selected itself, in a way. It follows a major census year, so that data will be easily available to evaluate the impact. It is two decades away from the baseline--long enough to permit developments taking a decade or two to occur, not so long a time to risk a lapse from impact assessment into prognostication. Decades are also useful units of analysis, because much data, including the census, is collected on the basis of decades. Since 1980 is the last year for which there is significant data, which, although flawed. is readily available in the form of the census. By exploring it beyond the surface, the census can yield rich and reasonalby accurate numbers. There is a substantial amount of data on the study area and on similar urban areas, as well as a substantial body of quantified experience on analogous situations. Furthermore, it will be almost 1990 by the time the Orange Line gets fully dismantled, and the impact of a major transportation project takes almost a decade to be felt. But this fairly long time horizon adds further uncertainty to our projections.

A review of various studies and reports was also undertaken which either focused on the Dudley Area or which covered it substantially. There were various goals in reviewing this literature: First, these reports were a source of information and solid data on the area. Second, they used methods and calculations which were useful. Third, duplication could be avoided. Fourth, the existing research could be used to explore the various areas pertinent to our study, particularly transportation and economic development. Following are a few of the main reports and the main type of data drawn from them:

- NDEA's *Anlysis of Shopping Patterns and Retail Market Demand, Dudley Station - 1980*.

Based on a partial survey of merchants, this study has data on the current composition of the commercial activity and on the shoppers who use it.

- GRDC's *Survey of Neighborhood-Based Business People*. This study was undertaken specifically in an attempt to predict the impact of the Orange Line's removal and R/TIS alternatives. It is interesting in highlighting issues other than the Orange Line, such as concern with crime. At the time of the survey, 71% of the merchants surveyed had not long-range plans.

- R/TIS - various studies, particularly:
  Alternative Analysis, Draft EIS Summary Report, 1983
  Technical Report 1, Market Analysis
  This is the best source of information on transportation alternatives, complimented and updated with interview with MBTA personnel. It is also a good source of data on the station areas for our baseline profile of the area.

- Harrison Keefe & Schork, S.O.M., *The Blue Hill Avenue Corridor, 1979.* This is a good source of land use data, physical plans and other programs available. It was also a source of some of the graphics used and of a concise history of the area.

- MIT's *Total Studio Report on Dudley*, 1975. A comprehensive plan for the area with excellent data collection and some techniques for market analysis. Proposals were also useful in defining potential scenarios.

Interviews

A combination of methods were used in generating, selecting and developing scenarios for further elaboration. Primary among these was the use of interview technique. Interviews were conducted with series of "experts and activists" who represented a range of opinions as well as a range of disciplines or areas of expertise. The group is broad in scope, if not large. It includes experts and local activists, and people who are both. If viewed from the angle of professional training, it includes planners, architects, economists, engineers, businessmen, organizers and bureaucrats. It encompasses a wide range of political opinion as well. Furthermore, all interviewed had important knowledge of the Dudley Station Area and have been involved in work of some sort around the area for a few years.

The interviews were open-ended, but all touched on a series of important questions. Among the questions were:

- What do you think will happen in the Dudley Station Area once the Orange Line is reloctated?
- What would you like to see happen?
- What are the key factors preventing development of the area? Which would promote it?
- What are the various possible futures for the area in twenty years?
- What role can your organization play in development?
- What role do you see the various actors in the area playing in the development of the area?
- What do you perceive as the loyalty and commitment of various actors to the area?
- What can be done to prevent displacement of housing and commerical establishments if reinvestment occurs?
- Do you want LRV's or buses on Washington Street? Why?

Persons interviewed were:

- Mitch Gibson, Boston Housing Authority (BHA) planner for Orchard Park
- Ken Kruckemeyer, Assistant Commissioner for Highway Engineering, State Department of Public Works
- Alfred Howard and Leo Jacklin, Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA)
- Muhammed Ali Saleem, Neighborhood Development and Employment Agency (NDEA) Planner
- Peter Calcaterra, MBTA, Manager Southwest Corridor Project
- Marshall Wrenn, Dudley Merchants Association, Chairperson
- Ken Guscott, President, Long Bay Management
- Curtis Davis, Executive Director, Greater Roxbury Development Corporation
- Ralph Smith, Director, Lower Roxbury Development Corporation
- Marvin Gilmore, Executive Director, Community Development Corporation
- Lloyd H. King, Executive Director, Roxbury Action Program, Inc.
- Clerk, Real Property Department, City Hall
- Representative, Heritage Park

The interviews were analyzed with emphasis on identifying contrasting views. They were analyzed and reconciled with the various literature reviews. In the process, it was sometimes necessary to move back and forth between interviews and researching the issue in publications, so that it was necesary to interview some of the key actors more than once. Although no formal consensus-building or content analysis technique was used, a substantial amount of project time was spent in the analysis. This analysis was suplemented with a review of literature in order to arrive at a series of variables which would be key in determining the potential development of the Study Area and PTA. Contradictions and diferences due to range of opinion or area of expertise were reconciled where possible. There was surprising agreement about what the key variables are, although there was some

disagreement about what should be done about them and what was likely to happen.

Findings of the Interviews

The major findings of the interviews can be summarized as follows:

- The current decay of the area is due to a combination of factors. The area suffered much as a result of demolition for Madison Park Urban Renewal, the Inner Belt and I-95. A policy of flagrant neglect by the White Administration further aggravated the situation. Racism towards a Center for the Black Community and contempt for one of the poorest neighboorhoods in the city made it even worse.

- There is a serious bureaucratic tangle of authority and responsibility in the area. Almost every attempt at positve solutions has been sabotaged through the bureaucracy. For example, the Tropical Food Store, a successful grocery store, wants to expand into a major supermarket in the adjacent "Parcel 10". Three different government entities have some jurisdiction over this parcel--the Department of Public Works, Real Property and Public Improvement Department. Rivalry between these agencies has made the expansion impossible. Other findings about the bureaucratic situation are summarized in the chart. "Bureaucratic Involvement in Dudley" (following page). It is clear that any future for the area will be affected by inaction or reform in the bureaucratic sphere.

- Transportation has been essential to the history of the Dudley area and will continue to affect its destiny. Although the interviewees did not agree on what the impact of different kinds of transportation would be on the Washington Street Corridor, all thought building the LRV would be crucial in some way.

- The confidence of small merchants to maintain their investment in the area is crucial to its future. Their confidence is elusive, but depends on access to capital, perception of public commitment, the future of Orchard Park, the image of the neighborhood,etc.

- Popular control of the development process has been and continues to be crucial. Lack of local control has caused great damage to the area (e.g., urban renewal) whereas even limited popular control has produced what positive trends do exist (e.g., the achievements of the CDC's such as RAP, GRDC and LRDC). The problem of control must be explicitly addressed in the future development of the area.

- A major renovation of the Orchard Park Housing Development is essential to the future of the area. The perception of most of

Bureaucratic Involvement in Dudley

	ACCESS TO PUBLIC FUNDS FOR AREA	ACCESS TO PRIVATE CAPITAL	CONTROL OF LAND	KEY RELATIONSHIP TO OTHERS	INTEREST IN AREA	POTENTIAL FOR DEVELOPMENT	LOYALTY TO CURRENT RESIDENTS
MAYOR'S OFFICE	Through various mechanisms	Leveraging	Through agencies; ultimate responsibility		Political; good potential	Catalyst	None -- potentially supportive
B.R.A.	Can apply for special federal funds	Leveraging c̄ influence on developer		Conflicts with Mayor, NDEA, CDC's, others	Development-oriented; bureaucratic		Historically antagonistic
PUBLIC FACILITIES	Streets, schools, vacant property, etc.	Leverage investment; can mold climate	In disposition of tax-delinquent property	Bureaucratic in-fighting; not as independent of Mayor as BRA	Controlled buildings (eg. Ferdinand)--used as "chips" in bureaucratic conflicts	Negative, unless power is checked	None
NDEA	Through CDBG, c̄ other	Leveraging	Little claimed; potentially high	Bureaucratic c̄ political	Intense -- node development concept; public statements of commitment	Important in current structure	Ambiguous
REAL PROPERTY	Real Estate	Leveraging	Role in disposition of tax-delinquent property	Bureaucratic	Controlled land (e.g., part of Parcel 10) used as "chips" in bureaucratic conflicts	+ or - depending	Negative
BHA	Housing Funds	Can influence development of housing	Orchard Park	With tenants	Orchard Park	High, but marginal interest	Questionable
MBTA	Transportation UMTA, Replacement Commitment	Joint Development	Owns Dudley Station, Orange Line	Through SWCP, Replacement Study	Replacement Service Commitment	Good	Fair
SWCP	Influence	Joint Development		Through participatory process c̄ political	Crosstown industrial Park -- have shown interest	Good	?
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE	High	Potentially high influence	EIR, influence over state agencies	Political c̄ bureaucratic - can be key with state bureaucracies	High potential, little current action	Relatively high	None, potentially supportive
EOCD	CDC funds, Jobs funds, must approve CARD	Leveraging	None	Governors policy-making body in housing c̄ economic development	Potentially high	Good	?
DPW	Land, eminent domain, some public investment	Leverage	Part of Parcel 10	Bureaucratic	Controls land, SWCP, CTIP, Melnea Cass Blvd.	+ or - depending on land control	?
HERITAGE PARK	Federal c̄ state funds from various pots - high potential informal commitment	High leveraging potential			Governor has announced commitment	Good	?
CDC's (RAP, LRDC, GRDC)	Some dependence on public funds - state, MBTA, etc.	Track record with foundations, banks; development skills	In their own turf; not directly in Study Area	History of problems with bureaucracy/ internal conflicts easily overcome	Intense c̄ most legitimate	Very high	High
DUDLEY MERCHANTS	CARD, some loan programs	Small capital; potentially excellent	Commercial in Study Area is 50% owner-occupied	Improving; needs work	High	Key -- Danger of gentrifying	Tension; can improve; Bad with Orchard Park tenants

the interviewees is that the level of improvement currently undetaken by the BHA is cosmetic and totally inadequate.

- There is disagreement about the probability of various futures occurring. Some thought continuing disinvestment to be inevitable, others thought gentrification and displacement were equally likely. Most preferred neither, but a third course of controlled development.

Findings of Literature Review

Before a full discussion of the selected variables is undertaken, some of the findings of the literature on transit and development need to be presented.

- **Relationship of Transit Planning and Economic Development**

In understanding the relationship between transit planning and economic development, there is considerable benefit to be gained from both experience and available literature. The planning for transit for several North American cities during the last twenty years includes various approaches to promoting and/or monitoring economic development. This covers heavy rail transit, but also LRV's so the experience is a basis for thinking about the possibilities of LRV's on the Washington Street Corridor.

Transit has been successfully used as a development tool in a number of cities such as Toronto, Montreal, Washington, D.C., Boston and Philadelphia.(10) The results have been an improved return on investment and enhanced property values. "Since rail systems improve regional access, new growth tends to cluster around station sites, and declining areas can be rejuvenated because of the higher value and profit potential of surrounding land."(11)

The U.S. Department of Transportation states that "rapid transit improvements can influence land use significantly when support other essential factors including land use controls."(12) Atlanta has restructured its zoning ordinances so as to encourage dense mixed development around its new rail stations, using them as nuclei for restructuring and development. Detroit expects its LRV system to improve downtown retail and convention business, stimulate capital projects and employment gain, while increasing property and income tax reveneus."(13) LRV's are being viewed as a tool for redevelopment and revitalization in areas currently struggling with disinvestment.

Buffalo and Portland provide good examples of cities that have successfully used Light Rail Transit to leverage private capital. Buffalo invested $70 million in public amenities and new buildings downtown in LRT related development. More than $200

million in private construction has since been announced or undertaken in one year. In Portland more than $25 million square feet of new office and retail construction has occurred near the LRT.(14)

Nevertheless, transit investment does not necessarily lead to leveraged further investment. What these cities have in common is a commitment to using LRV's as a necessary but not sufficient variable in urban development. Of twelve cities that have either constructued or are planning to construct Light Rail between 1978 and the present, two thirds stated that LRV's were part of a larger redevelopment effort.(15)

There are certain key components to a successful development strategy that integrates transportation into its plan. The concept of leveraging public funds to attract private investment has been recognized by UMTA along with other agencies as an integral part of a successful development strategy. Joint development involves extensive planning and coordination. A working partnership between the public and local private sector needs to be firmly established. Residents and local merchants must support the plan.

There needs to be a public commitment to urban growth and revitalization. Supportive local policies must be put into place. Some of these include mixed zoning, tax increment financing and industrial bonuses. Automobile traffic needs to be discouraged through parking controls. Landscaping improvements along with pedestrian amenities must be made if the plan is to be successful.

Any plan must also include an in-depth analysis of each neighborhood's physical, economic and technical resources and strenghts. Included in this analysis must also be its development potential. If long range objectives of urban economic development are to be accomplished (i.e. leveraged private investment, increased employment opportunities and tax revenues) initial costs need to be weighed against the potential longe-range benefits.

Dudley Station has been targeted by the NDEA as an urban renewal district. There are a large number of vacant and assemblable land parcels in the surrounding neighborhoods usch as Heritage Park and Eliot Square. Dudley Station is also part of a Commercial Area Revitalization District (CARD) and an Historical District, making additional funds available for rehabilitation work. A strong merchants association exists along with a number of community organizations and CDC's which are committed to neighborhood revitalization and stability. There are already attempts being made at interagency communication through the NDEA. All of the above reinforce the possibility that LRV's

could be effectively used as a development tool in the Dudley Square area.

Furthermore, empirical studies, comparing the development benefits in several cities with recently built LRV's, attempt to identify the factors which increase the chances of successfully leveraging the investment of the LRV. These are:

- That a city not be overcommitted to automobile transportation (as in San Diego);
- That a city have a reasonably healthy urban economy and;
- That transit planning be part of a larger comprehensive plan which includes zoning changes, economic and tax incentives and administrative reforms.

Boston has a balanced auto/transit transportation system and is part of a relatively prosperous regional economy. The commitment to integrate transportation planning for the Dudley Area with development planning as part of a comprehensive plan is a decision yet to be made. Still, the first two of the three criteria above, which are usually far more elusive to planners and more difficult to achieve, are applicable to the study area. The conditions are therefore favorable for the combination of transit development with a number of other factors and policies for the promotion of a healthy development strategy.

- **Other Factors Affecting Community Economic Development**

In a market economy like ours, the process of reversing economic decline and disinvestment in a poor urban neighborhood must affect the local creation and circulation of private capital. Either value has to be created in the particular area, which means industry should be located there, or the flow of money through the neighborhood--through income earned in jobs outside the area--must be captured and reinvested in the area to create more jobs and resources. Various forms of transfer payments--such as social security--can assist in the economy of an area. Development may also permit the increased value of land and buildings, adding to the locality's capacity to have access to capital.

In order to achieve this, many roads are recommended. The Community Development Movement generally agrees on a few general areas which are worth summarizing and translating into local policies.

A review of the experience of community development in Massachusetts by Rachael Bratt and Kenneth Geiser provides a basis for the identification of some key factors in community economic development.(16) Recent work on the problems of gentrification and displacement, particularly by Phillip Clay

(17) and by Chester Hartman, Dennis Keating and Richard LeGates (18), also contain insights into current trends in urban reinvestment in decaying neighborhoods. Based on a reading of this material it is possible to identify the following important factors affecting local economic development:

- **The Neighborhood "is a good focus for a comprehensive assault of the cycle of poverty."** This observation is particularly useful to the Dudley area, which is a geographic community and a neighbornood. This tends to indicate the need to develop a neighborhood entity to guide development.

- **Resources are crucial, particularly equity and debt capital.** In recent years lending institutions have been reluctant to lend in the area, despite incentives, subsidies and risk insurance. Bank branches have moved out and Unity Bank, an effort at a Black-owned financial institution failed. Considerable attention has to be paid to the availabilty of funds for the area. It has been pointed out that the ratio of public to private investment in the area over the last 20 years has been 10:1, an extremely high ratio. Since capital appears to be available to speculators (e.g. the Ferdinand Building was bought in '84) it is important to consider not only the general availability of funds but the targeting fo funds to locally based CDC's, residents and merchants. When private capital from outside is unwilling to take "front-end" risks, public funds of various sorts have to be made availabe.

- **The development process must foster local control of resources or the process will generate into investment without development.** Whichever entity or entities are leading, the process must promote genuine participation and control by local residents, CDC's, merchants, etc.

- **Existing local merchants, coops, and CDC's must be the focus of economic development,** since they can best turn capital into jobs and benefits. This does not exlude outside investors, but is does mean that legal, political and economic protection of locals has to be a priority.

- **Public reinvestment policy can be tailored to the neighborhood.** This may involve further research to analyze local housing and commercial markets, determination of reinvestment policy need, and the mechanisms to plan and implement this policy.

- **Small investor confidence,** necessary to reverse the out-flow of small capital and private funds, is an elusive goal. A number of measures can be identified: a) evidence of public commitment, from both investments and public services and

programs, b) evidence of other small private investors willing to take risks, and c) technical assistance and support systems for small enterprises.

- **The problem of image is related to the problem of investor confidence.** A number of factors affect the image of an area. Currently the areas's image has both positive and negative components. It's seen as a center of the Black community, an area with potentially beautiful buildings, and an area where considerable improvement has occurred. On the other hand, it is also seen as a high-crime, decaying area. It seems essential to concentrate on reversing the negative aspects of this image.

The Key Variables affecting Economic Development in the Dudley Neighborhood

Through analysis of the interviews and the literature, a set of six variables were identified as central to the 20-year future of the Dudley Neighborhood.(19) These are:

1. Transit's Impact on Economic Development--the construction of an LRV Line on Washigton Street.

The key question posed by various actors is whether transit generates development, or vice versa. In this context, it is generally agreed that a $24 million public investment in the area represented by the LRV is essential to generate confidence in the government's commitment to the area. By itself, the LRV is not seen as capable of reversing the tide of disinvestment; without the LRV little chance of this happening is also seen. The LRV is therefore necessary but not sufficient for the economic development of the study area. This issue may be considered separately from whether the LRV is needed merely in terms of transportation projections for the area. In terms of development, the LRV, being a more permanent investment in the infrastructure of the area, is qualitatively superior to buses in promoting development.

2. Level of Commitment to Public Investment.

While the LRV investment is seen as important, it appears essential that a major public commitment beyond transit be evident in the area. There is a general consensus among various actors that the level of public commitment currently assigned to the area (CARD funds, for example) is minimal and perhaps wasted without a major effort. Various suggestions have been made about potential contributors to this effort, through City, State and Federal programs, like Heritage Parks, CDBG, public commitment to rent office space in the area, etc. This study is not concerned with the presentation of development proposals, so these programs have not been evaluated for their potential contribution, but it is

important to note that a visible major increase in the level of public commitment, beyond transportation, seems to be an essential variable in the future development of the area.

3. Confidence of small private capital

Confidence of small private capital, particularly merchants currently located in the area is essential. This is an elusive variable, but there is general agreement that in a market economy it is essential for the development of an area like the Dudley Study Area. In the last ten years, the ratio of public to private investment in the area has been 10:1. This ration has to be drastically transformed. According to the people we interviewd, this factor itself depends on other factors, primarily the two above. Also important factors appear to be: decrease in crime, improvement of image, access to finances, access to technical assistance for small businesses, etc.

4. Bureaucratic Entanglement

It appears to be the consensus of the experts that a major barrier to development of the area is the byzantine tangle of bureaucratic authority, responsibility, and overlapping jurisicition by numerous municipal, state and federal agencies and programs. Furthermore, these bureacracies systematically fight each other for control of various parcels of land, or for the power to make certain decisions in a way that seriously jeopardizes the positive future of the area. These problems deal primarily with the power to spend public funds, the power of eminent domain, the capability to intervene in land disposition, the capacity for expedient processing of tax-delinquent property, and other powers. (See the chart, "Bureaucratic Involvement in Dudley" earlier in this report.) The city's recently proposed property disposition board appears to be a recognition of this situation as well as an attempt to address it, although in a minimal way.

5. Danger of Displacement

"Development" is an ambiguous term in many of Boston's neighborhoods. On the one hand it is needed in areas suffering from the whip of disinvestment. At the same time it is feared because it means "developers" with access to capital have designs on neighborhood resources, like turf, buildings, and other assets. A disinvested neighborhood may be terrible, but it is preferable to having no neighborhood. Although this may contradict some of the other variables, control of development is seen as crucial for the protection of the interest of current residents.

6. The Question of Image

This includes both a number of physical and design improvements deemed important and a series of less tangible issues, such as crime, other people's perception of the area, etc. It is felt that the question of "image" is crucial to the area, since it has for a while served as the center for Boston's Black Community.

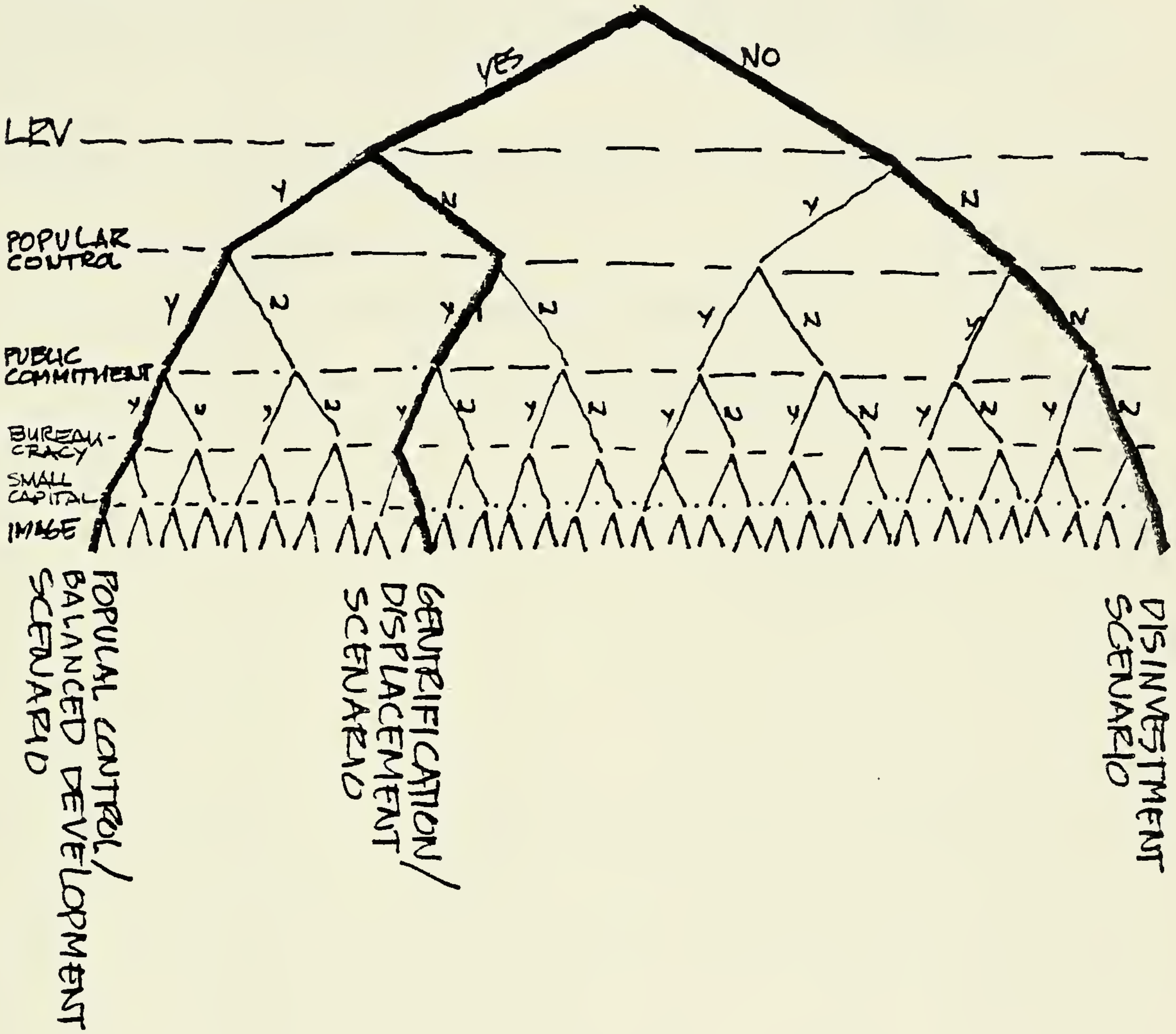
Selection of Scenarios for Further Study

Once the variables were identified, scenarios could be generated by combining them. It is important to note that while some variables are clearly "yes or no" variables ("build the LRV") others are necessarily more qualitative and difficult to quantify (e.g., "image") Attempts to index this latter type of variable are prone to be invalidated by subjectivity, but this does not diminish their importance. Even assuming six "yes or no" variables, the possible combinations are cumbersome in number. While "the city is not a tree", meaning that variables do not occur sequentially and cannot be discretely separated from one another, an event tree can still help in a simplified attempt to generate the various possible scenarios. The problem then became one of selecting among the possible scenarios, a few which could be further explored. In order to select among the possible scenarios for elaboration, criteria were first set:

- Scenarios had to be useful for policy formulation, this means that they should serve to illustrate potential outcomes of each policy decision;
- They should be plausible outcomes given current and expected trends, and discouting "wild-card" possibilities like war and a collapse of the banking system (not so wild given current realities);
- There should be a general agreement among those interviewed that the scenarios are reasonably likely outcomes given certain events and trends;
- The scenarios should be internally consistent once defined, although rigorous consistency was not required. Rather than look for formal or mathematical consistency, it was considered more important to show historical consistency as through analogous real-life situations;
- They should be quantifiable along a series of economic and demographic categories established in the community profile used for a baseline. This last process could be done by any of the large pallet of techniques available.

The key actors interviewed agreed that the two most likely outcomes were, 1) that the area would continue to decay pretty much as it has for the last 20 years, or that 2) current residents would get pushed out of the area by development generated from outside the community. People differed on the probability of each scenario occurring. It is

significant that in the year in which this study was in process, people's perception of which scenario was more probable for a 20 year projection changed; in 1983, the continued decay was perceived as more likely to occur, while in 1984 the second option was perceived as more likely. These two scenarios also have the advantage of being drastically contrasting futures, which also helps in policy formulation.



Considering these factors the first two scenarios selected for futher study, were labled the Disinvestment Scenario and the Gentrification /Displacement Scenario. The literature and the interviews, however, suggested the need to explore a third scenario. When asked what 20-year future they desired, those interviewed wanted neither of the two above scenarios completely. Rather, they wanted a future where there would be development but without the inequities and abuse of a market-driven process. Although they were not confident of the likelihood of its occurring, they felt balanced development or

"controlled gentrification" of the area was possible given a series of measures, incentives and safeguards. Since one of the purposes of our study is to aid in policy formulation, it was pertinent to formulate a third scenario based on implementing some of these policies. Once the variables were chosen and the scenariuos broadly defined, a variety of techniques was used to elaborate each. Particularly useful given the available data and the complex nature of change in an urban area is the use of analogs. Trends in analogous census tracks were extrapolated and applied to the data in the Dudley Primary Trade Area.

Based on this process the current baseline and the three major scenarios for the study were developped:

- The Disinvestment Scenario
- The Gentrification/Displacement Scenario
- The Popular Control/Balanced Development Scenario

FOOTNOTES

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19. See "Bibliography" of this report for further references on community economic development.

SECTION III

SCENARIOS page 53

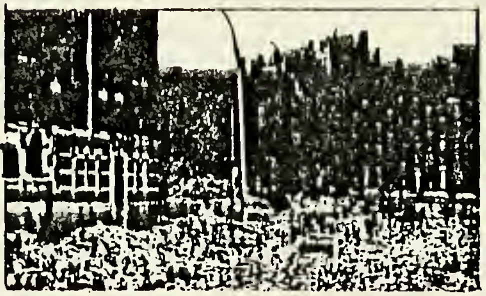
Which future will it be? Dudley ••• in the year 2001

1980 Baseline

- Transit: Existing "El"
- Public Commitment: Low
- Popular Control None
- Bureaucratic Tangle: Byzantine
- Small Capital: Surviving, old
- Image: Wasteland, Black Center

- Population: 15,933
- Per Capita Income: $4,156
- Total Jobs: 1,622
- % Families w/o Worker: 31%
- Annual Retail Sales: $25 M

Disinvestment



- Transit: No LRV
- Public Commitment Diminished
- Popular Control: None
- Bureaucratic Tangle: Continued
- Small Capital: Flees
- Image: Decaying urban wasteland

- Popolation: 12,745
- Per Capita Income: $2,735
- Total Jobs: 237
- % Families w/o Worker: 44%
- Annual Retail Sales: $1.7 M

Gentrification Displacement

- Transit: Build LRV
- Public Commitment: Increased, leveraged, biased towards wealth
- Popular Control: None
- Bureaucratic Tangle: Streamlined
- Small Capital: Difficulty competing
- Image: Yuppy village

- Population: 16,000
- Per Capita Income: $10,938
- Total Jobs: 3,244
- % Families w/o Worker: 11%
- Annual Retail Sales: $78.9 M

Popular Power Balanced Development

- Transit: Build LRV
- Public Commitment: Major
- Popular Control: Serious
- Bureaucratic Tangle: Reformed, controlled
- Small Capital: Confident
- Image: Working and middle class neighborhood, Black Center

- Population: 27,000
- Per Capita Income: $6,555
- Total Jobs: 3,217
- % Families w/o Worker 21%
- Annual Retail Sales: $65 M

THE SCENARIOS

The Disinvestment Scenario

This is basically a continuation of the present trend of the last 40 years, particularly the trend of the decades of the 60's and 70's. Despite repenetrations by new capital of the centers of U.S. cities in the last few years, specifically in downtown Boston, there appear clear indications that there will continue to be areas of the city where residents and activities will concentrate which, although essential for the functioning of the city, are considered undesirable by society at large and penalized as such. Certainly this is likely to be true for the next 15 years, the time horizon of our study. Thus, a part of the reserve army of labor will still have to be housed in the inner city, and somebody will have to make the beds in all those new hotels. A very poor residential area is likely to remain in Boston. Given the resurgent growth of racism (even as gains are being made in some areas) and the historic role of Dudley as a center for the Black Community of this city, the Study Area is an excellent candidate for continued disinvestment. Although removal of the El will promote speculation and displacement in some areas of Washington Street, the process will be uneven and pockets of disinvestment will remain as in Dudley Station. The South Bronx and neighborhoods in various other cities can be seen as analogous to the Dudley Station Area and the residential area further to the southeast along Dudley Street.

In this scenario, the LRV is not built, there is no bureaucratic reorganization facilitating planned development, there is no control of either institutions or businesses in the area. Current CDC's and other local institutions either go bankrupt or become more state-dependent, to the point of losing autonomy. Capable leadership moves out. Populations continues to decline. There's only sporadic commitment of public funds, which become essentially "water down the drain." City services continue their decline despite sporadic attempts to improve them. The residential area develops as the residence of last resort for the city's poor, and another 60% of the housing stock and building stock is lost to arson. The excellent remaining industrial and commercial buildings in the area degenerate into warehouses and other marginal, low-employment and secondary-labor-market economic activities. Vacant land continues to be used as a dumping ground, currently a serious problem. The census tract in the area most representative of the current trend is tract 806, which can serve as an analogue for the rest of the study area. Key actors consider this scenario relatively likely to occur.

The Gentrification/Displacement Scenario

Priced out of the South End, "Yuppies" penetrate the neighborhood and begin to dominate it, in turn pricing out almost every current resident except a few homeowners and a few other residents living in

subsidized housing who manage to cling on. Some of the inmigration is black, but eventually most people of color are priced out and the area becomes mostly white. Residences and activities considered undesirable, however necessary to the city's labor market, are moved out of Dudley and scattered in small pockets around the city. Most currently subsidized housing in the area becomes first "mixed income developments" and "low-income condominiums" and eventually either demolished (in the case of Orchard Park) or converted entirely to middle and upper-middle class housing. Dudley, because of its excellent location and stock of remarkable buildings, is claimed by others.

Since most of the current store owners are quite old, they sell their businesses and the area suffers from commercial as well as residential displacement. Boutiques are everywhere, full of ferns. Current industrial and commercial space gets converted to other uses, such as lofts and professional services. A few current residents and merchants make some money on the change, but they move as property taxes skyrocket. The majority lose the turf and what little they have; they also move.

There has been a peculiar combination of state interference and inaction in the local development process. There is no major bureaucratic reform, but procedures are simplified to facilitate sales to developers. The Ferdinand Building sale of 1984 was only the first of these. The BRA of the early 60's is reborn, more Machiavellian but without housing subsidies to use as "carrots." The LRV is built, Washington Street is converted to a pedestrian mall and the area is made a historic preservation district so that rehabilitation funds can be augmented by the tax benefits connected with district designation.

A good analogue for this scenario is Census Tract 706 in the South End. Formerly a racially mixed, working class neighborhood, it has, in the last 20 years, become mostly white and wealthy--most of the older residents have been displaced. Given the proximity of Dudley to an overcrowded downtown (only 10 minutes on the LRV), many experts and current residents fear that, without controls on development, this is a likely scenario.

Popular Power/Balanced Development Scenario

This is the hardest scenario to realize, although from the Dudley community's point of view, the only desirable one. With a combination of public and private investment and community-based monitors and controls on development, the Dudley area is developed to include new housing, industry and commercial activity in both newly constructed and rehabilitated facilities. A Dudley Area Authority is established with real, not just advisory power, to streamline the bureaucratic process of development, to enforce anti-displacement measures and to encourage the type of development that will serve a

largely working class population. There is sensitive public investment in the area, most notably the LRV is built (and the Dudley crosstown bus route is selected) and possibly both the City and State lease, on a long-term basis, office space in the newly rehabilitated upper floors along the Washington Street Mall. With new jobs, housing and services in the area, the population returns to its 1960 size and, remaining predominantly black, Dudley is strengthened as the center of the Boston-area Black Community.

Specific Projections

Following are detailed projections for each of these three scenarios. Compared to estimates of 1980 features of the area, each scenario is projected to the year 2001. The Primary Trade Area (see map on page 10) is referred to for population, income, jobs, occupational distribution and ethnic, racial distribution. The Dudley Study Area (see map on page 11) is referred to for projections of square feet for various uses, jobs and sales.

▪ POPULATION OF PRIMARY TRADE AREA

Current and Past

Between 1960 and 1970 the population of the Primary Trade Area (PTA) decreased by 35% from 26,886 in 1960 to 17,395 in 1970. The PTA population continued to decline from 1970 to 1980, although the rate of decline decreased considerably. In this decade another 6% of the 1960 population was lost; 15,933 people remained in the PTA in 1980, 59% of the 1960 population.

This and the following data is from the U.S. Census. Although generally correct, the figures given are not precisely comparable since the census tract boundaries were slightly changed in 1970. Also, all these figures are probably low, given the fact that the U.S. Census tends to undercount minorities and especially immigrants (see: Andrews, Allan R., "Why the census counts." Boston Globe, 10/3/80; and Patterson, Rachelle, "Illegal aliens to be included in 1980 census," Boston Globe, 8/16/79). Given the increasingly minority population in the PTA in the two decades between 1960 and 1980 (see below, section on ethnic/racial composition), this undercounting is probably more serious in later years. Therefore, the decline in population reflected in the above figures may be overstated.

Disinvestment Scenario

With no new development in the area, shrinking commercial options and jobs, reduced transportation services and continued arson, we can only expect that the population in the PTA will continue to decline. The rate of decline may be somewhat reduced by the area becoming increasingly the residence of last resort for the poor pushed out of

other gentrifying areas of the city. Alternatively, the rate of decline could become much higher, if there are other areas to absorb the city's poor. In this case, the PTA could become another South Bronx.

If we assume for the next 20 years the same 41% decline in population experienced between 1970 and 1980, only about 9,350 people will remain in the area in 2001. However, if we assume that the rate of decline will be the same as between 1970 and 1980 (a 9% decline), about 14,450 people will remain in the area. Our "best guess" is somewhere in the middle. We are assuming a decline equal to twice the actual number of people who left in the 1970-80 decade, or 3100 people, leaving a population of about 12,745 in the year 2001.

Gentrification/Displacement Scenario

Generally gentrification in an area leads to a decrease in population, as multifamily houses are restored to single family homes, three deckers are converted to two family homes with a more spacious apartment for the owner and one rental unit, household size decreases, etc. In the 20 years between 1960 and 1980, the population in two South End census tracts that experienced gentrification in that period (706 and 707) decreased by more than one-fifth, from 5,376 to 4,240 However, this part of the South End had few vacant lots and existing buildings were retained and rehabilitated, whereas the primary trade area for Dudley Station is notable for having vast tracts of vacant land and many vacant buildings. So, although we assume gentrification will decrease the number of units in existing housing, we also assume there will be significant new construction on vacant land as well as conversion of some of the current industrial lofts into housing. Our "best guess" assumption is that these trends will offset one another and the current population of the area will remain fairly constant, about 16,000 people in the year 2001.

Popular Control/Balanced Development Scenario

As in the gentrification/displacement scenario, balanced development would include developing the currently vacant land and rehabilitating vacant houses. However, given a different population composition, we can assume less land per unit and less square feet per occupant in new construction, more units per structure in rehabilitation and a larger number of persons per household. In other words, we are projecting a scenario very much like what used to exist in this area before abandonment and fire claimed so much of the housing and when there were working-class jobs available in the area. We are therefore assuming a population in 2001 similar to that of 1960, before a lot of the deterioration of this area had occurred--about 27,000 people in the year 2001.

INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT OF THE POPULATION IN THE PRIMARY TRADE AREA

Current

The PTA is already suffering the symptoms of disinvestment. This is especially reflected in income and employment statistics. As the following Tables A and B will show in detail, income in the PTA is currently far below that of Boston as a whole. with 32.1% of the population living below poverty level as compared with 16.7% city-wide. Per capita income is only $4.156 as compared with a citywide figure of $6,555, and the median household income for the area is about $8,288 compared to a citywide median household income of $12.530.

Note: $8,288 is not the actual median income for the PTA. Median incomes are only available by census tract and therefore not possible to compute for an area comprising several census tracts. This figure is actually a 'mean' of the 'median' income by tract and was computed as follows: the number of households in a tract was multiplied by the median income for that tract; these totals were then added together and the resulting total of 'weighted' median incomes was divided by the total number of households in all the tracts in the PTA.

TABLE A--INCOME
Boston
Dudley PTA, Census Tracts 803-8, 816, 817
South End Census Tract 706

TRACT	POPULATION	# OF HOUSEHOLD	HOUSEHOLD MEDIAN		HOUSEHOLD MEAN		PER CAPITA	
			INCOME	% OF BOSTON	INCOME	% OF BOSTON	INCOME	% OF BOSTON
BOSTON	562,994	219,024	$12,530	100.0%	$16,212	100.0%	$6,555	100.0%
803	2,384	720	6,667	53.2%	10,766	66.4	3,608	55.0%
804	1,679	590	8,657	69.1%	11,444	70.6%	4,350	64.5%
805	4,236	1,770	7,235	57.7%	10,088	62.2%	4,229	64.5%
806	1,033	337	5,816	46.4%	8,829	54.5%	2,735	41.7%
807	309	91	14,792	118.1%	18,093	111.6%	5,767	88.0%
808	1,977	639	7,139	57.0%	11,436	70.5%	3,506	53.5%
816	739	245	10,208	81.5%	14,407	86.6%	4,908	74.9%
817	3,576	1,296	10,847	86.6%	12,806	79.0%	4,817	73.5%
TOTAL PTA	15,933	5,688	8,288	66.1%	11,309	69.8%	4,156	63.4%
706 (South End)	2,657	1,297	$16,185	129.0%	$20,890	113.0%	$10,938	135.0%

from 1980 U.S. Census

TABLE B--POVERTY LEVEL
Boston
Dudley PTA, Census Tracts 803-8, 816, 817
South End Census Tract 706

TRACT	# OF FAMILIES FOR WHOM POVERTY LEVEL IS COMPUTED	# OF THESE FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	% OF THESE FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	# OF INDIVIDU- FOR WHOM POVERTY LEVEL IS COMPUTED	# OF THESE IN- DIVIDUALS BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	% OF THESE IN- DIVIDUALS BELOW POVERTY LEVEL
BOSTON	117,832	19,680	16.7%	529,726	106,770	20.2%
803	526	260	49.4%	2,324	1,087	46.8%
804	368	107	29.1%	1,579	489	31.0%
805	1,136	299	26.3%	4,179	1,245	29.8%
806	237	135	57.0%	1,091	558	51.1%
807	68	-	-	300	5	1.7%
808	452	208	46.0%	2,037	869	42.7%
816	122	15	12.3%	701	139	19.8%
817	819	149	18.2%	3,559	671	18.9%
TOTAL PTA	3,728	1,173	31.5%	15,770	5,063	32.1%
706 South End	401	27	6.7%	2,645	389	14.7%

from 1980 U.S. Census

unemployment in the area, as refelected in the 1980 U.S. Census is also significantly higher than the city's. (See Table C.) Of the workers counted in the labor force 26.2% of those residing in the PTA were unemployed some part of 1969, as compared to 20% in Boston. Of those counted in the labor force in the PTA, 11.5% were unemployed for more than 15 weeks, compared to 6.5% citywide.

Of course, the actual situation regarding unemployment is far worse than is reflected in these figures. Unemployment figures, as compiled by the U.S. Census Bureau and the Department of Labor Statistics, are notoriously inadequate in that many unemployed and underemployed people, particularly those groups symptomatic of an especially depressed area, are simply not counted as part of the labor force and/or of those unemployed. For example, "discouraged workers" (workers who are not any longer actively seeking employment) and workers without adequate services (like daycare) to enable them to work are not considered part of the labor force and parttime workers who would like to be full-time workers are also not included in those unemployed.(1) We can get a hint of the magnitude of the error if we look at three other comparisons derived from the 1980

U.S. Census: (See Table C.)

- **Percentage of the population in the labor force:**
  54.7% of Boston's entire population was in the labor force in 1979, whereas only 38.2% of the population of the PTA was in the labor force.

- **Percentage of the labor force unemployed 15 weeks in 1979:**
  6.5% of those considered in the labor force citywide were unemployed 15 weeks or longer, compared to 11.5% in the PTA.

- **Percentage of familes with no worker:**(2)
  21.0% of families citywide had no worker, whereas a whopping 31.4% of the families in the PTA had no worker.

TABLE C--LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT
Boston
Dudley PTA, Census Tracts 803-8, 816, 817
South End Census Tract 706

TRACT	POPULATION	# IN LABOR FORCE	% OF POP. IN THE LABOR FORCE	# WITH UNEMPLOYMENT IN 1979	% OF LABOR FORCE	# WITH 15 WEEKS PLUS UNEMPLOYMT.	% OF LABOR FORCE	# OF FAMILIES	# OF FAMILIES WITH NO WORKER	% OF ALL FAMILIES THAT HAVE NO WORKER
BOSTON	562,994	308,015	54.7%	61,721	20.0%	20,172	6.5%	117,832	22,460	21.0%
803	2,384	754	31.6%	215	28.5	117	15.5%	526	231	43.9%
804	1,679	723	43.1%	232	32.1%	56	7.7%	368	73	19.8%
805	4,236	1,433	33.8%	253	17.1%	101	7.1%	1,136	427	37.6%
806	1,033	396	38.3%	116	29.3%	45	11.4%	237	79	33.3%
807	309	175	56.6%	34	19.4%	11	6.3%	68	-	0.0%
808	1,977	629	31.8%	148	23.5%	68	10.8%	452	181	40.0%
816	739	355	48.0%	94	26.5%	33	9.3%	122	6	4.9%
817	3,576	1,623	45.4%	500	30.8%	266	16.4%	819	172	20.5%
TOTAL PTA	15,933	6,088	38.2%	1,592	26.2%	697	11.5%	3,728	1,169	31.4%
706	2,657	1,794	67.5%	285	15.9%	59	3.3%	401	44	11.0%

from 1980 U.S. Census

Relative to the third point above, the authors are not contending that all families with no worker should be reflected in unemployment figures, but certainly "discouraged workers" or potential workers who lack essential services and/or training should be considered as part of the unemployment problem. So, how many of the families with no

worker in the PTA contain in this sense, unemployed workers? We can generally assume that at least one member of a family with no worker would fall into one of three categories: nonparticipant in the labor market ("discouraged worker," on public assistance, lacking either services or skills, etc.); elderly (retired hopefully by choice); and "independently wealthy." Given the general conditions reflected in official statistics of the PTA, we can eliminate "independently wealthy" as a significant category. And, as the accompanying Table D shows, elderly comprise a much smaller segment of the PTA population than of Boston as a whole (12.7% in Boston; 6.3% in the PTA). We therefore must conclude that an exceptionally high percentage of the population of the PTA are nonparticipants in the labor market. This is a typical feature of areas suffering disinvestment. And, the fact that these potential workers do not appear as part of the labor force at all, and are therefore not considered in any way unemployed, is further evidence of the inadequacy of "official" unemployment rates.

TABLE D--ELDERLY
Boston
Dudley PTA, Census Tracts 803-8, 816, 817

TRACT	POPULATION	PERSONS 65 YEARS AND OVER	% OF POPULATION
BOSTON	562,994	71,299	12.7%.
803	2,384	98	4.1%
804	1,679	55	3.3%
805	4,326	324	7.5%
806	1,033	41	4.0%
807	309	20	6.5%
808	1,977	31	4.1%
816	651	55	3.4%
817	3,576	324	9.1%
TOTAL PTA	15,933	998	6.3%

from 1980 U.S. Census

Disinvestment Scenario

As we've already noted, the classic symptoms of disinvestment-low income, high unemployment, high level of nonparticipation in the labor market-are already present in the primary trade area. With further disinvestment we can only assume a worsening of these conditions. We are therefore using the 1980 condition of the poorest census tract in the primary trade area (#806) as our analogue to

project the future disinvestment scenario. (See Tables A, B, C.) Of the families in Census Tract 806, 57% currently live below the poverty level; median household income is less than half (46%) of that of the city as a whole: and the per capita income is only $2,735 (42% of citywide). We are assuming that with spreading disinvestment the current conditions in this tract will become the norm for the area as a whole by the year 2001, with 60% of the population living below the poverty level and with a per capita income of 40% of the citywide income. If anything, we can expect even more severe income and employment differentials given superexploitation of people of color in this country, and perhaps especially in Boston, and the overwhelming preponderence of people of color in this area. (See "Ethnic/Racial Composition," page 65.) (3)

Gentrification/Displacement Scenario

We are assuming that in a gentrification scenario, the PTA will develop similarly to Census Tract 706 in the South End, which has gentrified over the past twenty years. With slightly different boundaries, this area was Census Tract J0002 in 1960. In 1960, income in this census tract was relative to the city as a whole almost exactly as is that of the PTA in 1980. The median household income in Census Tract 706 in 1960 was $3,972, compared to a citywide median household income of $5,747, or 69% of the citywide median household income (4), while median household income in the PTA in 1980 is approximately 66% of citywide. Twenty years later, in 1980, median household income in Census Tract 706 is 129% of that of the city as a whole, with a per capital income of 135% of that of the city. (See Table A.) Only 6.7% of the families in that tract have incomes below the poverty level (compared to 16.7% citywide and 32.1% in the PTA), a much lower than average percentage of workers in the tract had some unemployment in 1979, and only 11% of families in the tract had no worker (compared to 21% citywide and 31.4% in the PTA). (See Tables B and C.)

Based on this analogue, we are projecting a per capita income for the year 2001 of 135% of citywide income, or about $11,000 in 1980 dollars, and a median household income of 129% of Boston's, or about $16,000 in 1980 dollars. We would also assume that unemployment for the PTA in 2001 would remain in relationship to the city as a whole as it currently is in Census Tract 706. (See Table C.)

Popular Control/Balanced Development Scenario

With balanced development, we assume that the Primary Trade Area is doing as well as the city as a whole. In 1980 dollars this would mean a median household income of $12,530 and a per capita income of $6,555.

With the type of job development we are proposing in the Popular Control/Balanced Development Scenario . we would assume unemployment

and underemployment would markedly decrease, perhaps for the city as a whole. However, given the complexity of factors affecting unemployment (and the regional and even national character of many of them), we are not making a specific projection regarding unemployment levels.

● OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRIMARY TRADE AREA

Current

As a whole, occupational distribution in the PTA is not greatly different from the city as a whole. The most noticable difference is in the "managerial and professional specialty occupations," which account for 19% of the labor force in the PTA and 26% of Boston's labor force. However, when we look at the poorest census tract in the PTA (#806), we see much more striking differences. Only 8% of the labor force in Census Tract 806 is classed in "managerial and professional specialty occupations" and nearly half is in "service occupations." The most stark contrast is between Census Tract 806 and Census Tract 706, a gentrified area of the South End. In Census Tract 706, 51.5% of the labor force is in "managerial and professional specialty occupations" (8% for #806) and only 13.4% is in "service occupations" (44.3% for 806). (See Table E.)

Disinvestment Scenario

Again, we will use Census Tract 806 as a rough analogue for what we assume will become the norm for the entire PTA in 2001, if disinvestment continues. Already one-third of the families in this tract have no worker (i.e., no member of the family was in the labor force); nearly onethird of those in the labor force had some unemployment in 1979 (compared to one-fifth for the City) and, what is counted as the labor force is only 38% of the population (compared to 54.7% citywide and 67.5% in Census Tract 706). (See Table C).

Using this analogue, we are projecting for the year 2001 increased nonparticipation in the labor force, with only a third of the PTA population (approximately 4250) in the labor force at all, and many of these underemployed or sporadically employed. Of the one-third in the labor force, roughly one-half will work in "service occupations"; one-quarter as "operators, fabricators, and laborers"; one-fifth in sales and clerical; and, of the remaining,5% in "precision production, craft and repair" and 5% in "managerial and professional specialty occupations." (See Table E for roughly analogous percentages for Census Tract 806.)

Gentrification/Displacement Scenario

Using the gentrified Census Tract 706 in the South End as our analogue, we are projecting that the PTA will have a roughly similar occupational distribution (see Table D): 50% "managerial and

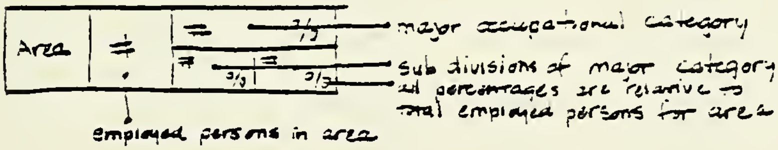
professional specialty occupations"; 25% technical, sales, and administrative support occupations"; 15% "service occupations"; 5% "precision production, craft, and repair occupations"; and 5% "operators, fabricators, and laborers".

TABLE E--OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION
Boston
Dudley PTA, Census Tracts 803-8, 816, 817
South End Census Tract 706

TRACT	Employed Persons 16 years & Over	Managerial & Professional		Technical, Sales and Admin. Support			Service Occupations			Farming Forestry Fishing	Precision Production Craft Repair	Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers		
		Executive Admin. Mngr.	Professional Specialty	Technical	Sales	Admin. Support Clerical	Private House-hold	Protective Service	Other Service			Machine Operators Assemblers	Transpor-tation	Cleaners, Helpers, Laborers
BOSTON	256,047	66,660	26.0%	87,796		34.3%	47,109		18.4%	927 .4%	19,772 7.7%	33,783		13.2%
		25,238 9.9	41,422 16.1	10,557 4.1	18,788 7.3	58,451 22.3	929 .4	6,930 2.7	39,250 15.3	927 .4	19,772 7.7	17,320 6.8	7,505 2.9	8,958 3.5
803	588	104	17.7	137		23.3	122		20.8	— —	29 4.9	196		33.3
		64 10.9	40 6.8	6 1.0	—	131 22.3	5 .9	13 2.2	104 17.7	—	29 4.9	107 18.2	55 9.4	34 5.8
804	573	63	7.8	195		34.0	173		30.2	—	23 4.0	119		20.6
		—	63 7.8	12 2.1	25 4.4	158 27.6	—	—	173 30.2	—	23 4.0	88 15.4	11 1.9	20 3.5
805	1,271	259	20.4	410		32.3	424		33.4	—	74 5.8	104		8.1
		57 4.5	202 15.9	77 6.1	32 2.5	301 23.7	15 1.2	48 3.8	361 28.4	—	74 5.8	58 4.6	21 1.7	25 2.0
806	314	25	8.0	53		16.9	139		44.3	6 1.9	13 4.1	78		24.8
		—	25 8.0	—	7 2.2	46 14.7	—	5 1.6	134 42.7	6 1.9	13 4.1	12 3.8	35 11.1	31 9.9
807	126	32	25.4	49		38.9	27		21.4	—	—	18		14.3
		—	32 25.4	6 4.8	—	43 34.1	—	5 4.0	22 17.5	—	—	9 7.1	9 7.1	—
808	505	157	31.1	149		29.5	72		14.3	—	37 7.3	90		17.8
		30 5.9	127 25.2	6 1.2	22 4.4	121 24.0	6 1.2	18 35.6	48 9.5	—	37 7.3	75 14.9	7 1.4	8 1.6
816	270	64	23.7	68		25.2	47		17.4	—	28 10.4	63		23.3
		25 9.3	39 14.4	5 1.9	15 5.6	48 17.8	—	8 3.0	39 14.4	—	28 10.4	50 18.5	5 1.9	8 3.0
817	1,322	251	19.0	433		32.8	340		25.7	13 1.0	52 3.9	233		17.6
		99 7.5	152 11.5	20 1.5	37 2.8	376 28.4	20 1.5	27 2.0	293 22.2	13 1.0	52 3.9	154 11.6	12 .9	67 5.1
TOTAL PTA	4,969	955	19.2	1,494		30.1	1,341		27.0	19 .4	256 5.2	901		18.1
		275 5.5	680 13.7	132 2.7	138 2.8	1,224 24.6	46 .9	124 2.5	1,174 23.6	19 .4	256 5.2	553 11.1	155 3.1	193 3.9
706 (SOUTH END)	1,650	844	51.5	386		23.4	221		13.4	16 1.0	106 6.4	77		4.7
		345 20.9	499 30.2	74 4.5	130 7.9	182 11.0	—	24 1.4	197 11.9	16 1.0	106 6.4	45 2.7	10 .6	22 1.3

from 1980 U.S. Census

LEGEND:


Area
#
#
%
#
%
#
%
major occupational category
sub divisions of major category
all percentages are relative to total employed persons for area
employed persons in area

Popular Control/Balanced Development Scenario

With balanced development the area would approach the occupational distribution of the City as a whole, although, given the projected industrial development in the area, we would expect a somewhat higher proportion of blue collar workers. Our "best guess" might look something like this: 25% "managerial and professional specialty occupations"; 20% "service occupations"; 10% "precision production, craft, and repair occupations"; and 15% "operators, fabricators, and laborers."

■ RACIAL/ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION

Current and Past

As the population of the Primary Trade Area has decreased and become poorer relative to the City as a whole, it has also changed from 52% black and 47% white in 1960 to 83% black and only 5% white in 1980. Table E shows in detail "Race and Spanish Origin" in the PTA. Currently of the few whites remaining in the area, nearly one-third are of Spanish origin. Taking account of the Hispanic whites and all other minority population, the PTA is currently 96.4% minority.

TABLE F--RACE AND SPANISH ORIGIN
Boston
Dudley PTA, Census Tracts 803-8, 816, 817
South End Census Tract 706

TRACT	POPULA-TION	WHITE % of POP	BLACK % of POP	AM.IND., ESK.,ALT % of POP	ASIAN, PAC.ISL. % of POP	OTHER % of POP	SPANISH* ORIGIN % of POP	SPANISH ORIGIN		
								WHITE % of WHITE	BLACK %of BLACK	OTHER % OF OTHER
BOSTON	562,994 100.0%	393,936 70.0%	126,229 22.4%	1,302 .2%	15,150 2.7%	26,376 4.7%	36,068 6.4%	11,814 3.0%	4,026 .7%	20,228 76.7%
803	2,384 100.0%	70 2.9%	1,958 82.1%	4 .2%	10 .4%	342 14.3%	418 18.0%	23 32.8%	116 5.9%	279 81.6%
804	1,679 100.0%	56 3.3%	1,519 90.5%	8 .5%	10 .6%	86 5.1%	122 7.3%	6 10.7%	43 2.8%	73 84.9%
805	4,236 100.0%	104 2.5%	3,860 91.1%	17 .4%	8 .2%	247 5.8%	353 8.3%	55 52.9%	104 2.7%	194 78.6%
806	1,033 100.0%	50 4.8%	804 77.8%	1 .1%	24 2.3%	154 14.9%	193 18.7%	40 80.9%	8 1.0%	145 94.1%
807	309 100.0%	30 9.7%	269 87.1%	- -	- -	10 3.2%	21 6.8%	6 20.9%	5 1.9%	10 1.0%
808	1,977 100.0%	364 18.4%	774 39.2%	- -	10 .5%	829 41.9%	997 50.4%	104 28.6%	70 9.0%	823 99.2%
816	651 100.0%	66 10.1%	558 85.7%	6 .9%	2 .3%	19 2.9%	41 6.3%	21 31.9%	7 1.2%	3 15.8%
817	3.576 100.0%	94 2.6%	3,355 93.8%	18 .5%	7 .2%	102 2.9%	110 3.1%	8 8.6%	51 1.5%	51 50.0%
TOTAL PTA	15,845 100.0%	834 5.3%	13,097 82.7%	54 .3%	71 .4%	1,789 11.3%	2,255 14.3%	263 31.5%	404 3.1%	1,578 88.2%
706	2,657	1,966 74.0%	810 11.7%	18 .7%	232 8.7%	131 4.9%	195 7.3%	55 2.8%	17 5.5%	123 93.9%

from 1980 U.S. Census
*can be of any race

Disinvestment Scenario

Given the position of people of color in the United States economy and patterns of racial segregation (5), we can only assume that with continued disinvestment, the current trend towards an entirely minority population in the PTA will continue. We are, therefore, assuming a community of 99% people of color and Hispanics in the area in the year 2001. This will roughly break down: 90% Black, 10% other, primarily Hispanic. Hispanics (of any race) will remain about 15% of the population.

Gentrification/Displacement Scenario

In the case of uncontrolled gentrification of the PTA, we expect the area to flip from being overwhelmingly black to being a majority white by 2001.

Although we see the area reversing racially, we do not see it becoming as overwhelmingly white as most gentrified areas. Whereas much of the current poorer black and Hispanic population will be displaced by the more affluent, some of the immigrating gentry will be black. In fact, the Fort Hill-Highland Park area of Roxbury is currently experiencing a growth in the number of black middle-class and professional families and individuals.(6) With further development in the area, coupled with continued housing discrimination in Boston's suburbs (7), we can expect a substantial growth in the number of black middle- and upper-class families and individuals in the PTA.

Nonetheless, we are assuming that most of the gentry will be white and that, by the year 2001, whites will form the majority of the population of the PTA. We base this assumption on a number of factors. Blacks and Hispanics in this country are overwhelmingly poorer than whites and the black-middle class is not only small relative to the black population as a whole, but it is also much less stable than the white middle-class (i.e., in times of economic difficulty it is much more likely that a black middle-class family will fall from the middle-class than it is for a white middle-class family; it is also much more likely that the children of a black middle-class family will not achieve middle-class status than it is for the children of a white middle-class family).(8)

"Gentry" and "middle-class" are vague terms and ideally would be defined by more than income, but for our purposes, and given the data easily available, income will serve as a rough guage as to who are potentially in the gentry and the middle-class. Currently, as Tables G and H show, only 20.5% of Boston's black households had 1979 incomes above $15,000 (36.9% in the SMSA), while 46.2% of white households had incomes above $15,000 (61.8% in the SMSA). What this means in actual numbers is that only 14,655 black households in

TABLE G--INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK HOUSEHOLDS
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA)
Boston
Dudley PTA, Census Tracts 803-8, 816, 817

	# IN SMSA % IN SMSA	# IN BOSTON % IN BOSTON	# IN PTA % IN PTA	# IN 803 % IN 803	# IN 804 % IN 804	# IN 805 % IN 805	# IN 806 % IN 806	# IN 807 * % IN 807	# IN 808 % IN 808	# IN 816 % IN 816	# IN 817 % IN 817
TOTAL # HSHLDS. %	55,616 100%	44,346 100%	4,048 100%	591 100%	566 100%	1,601 100%	289 100%	~96 100%	292 100%	216 100%	1,197 100%
Less than $5,000/yr %	13,161 23.7%	11,427 25.8%	1,490 30.7%	223 37.7%	218 38.5%	503 31.4%	152 52.6%	~29 30.2%	117 40.1%	32 14.8%	235 19.6%
$5,000 to $7,499/yr %	6,365 11.4%	5,357 12.1%	790 16.3%	82 13.9%	28 4.9%	317 2.3%	59 20.4%	~16 16.7%	71 24.3%	40 18.5%	177 14.8%
$7,500 to $9,999/yr	5,825 10.5%	4,874 11.0%	570 11.8%	84 14.2%	54 9.5%	220 13.7	6 2.1%	~11 11.5%	17 5.8%	44 2.0%	134 11.2%
$10,000 to $14,999/yr	9,720 17.5%	8,033 18.1%	860 17.7%	78 13.2%	158 27.9%	262 16.4%	35 12.1%	~17 17.7%	15 5.1%	37 17.2%	258 21.6%
$15,000 to $19,999/yr	7,026 12.6%	5,549 12.5%	451 9.3%	35 5.9%	46 8.1%	135 8.4%	29 10.0%	~ 9 9.4%	20 6.8%	25 11.6%	152 12.7%
$20,000 to $24,999/yr	5,045 9.1%	3,786 8.5%	337 7.0%	29 4.9%	15 2.7%	90 5.6%	7 2.4%	~ 7 7.3%	29 9.9%	16 7.4%	144 12.0%
$25,000 to $34,999/yr %	5,110 9.2%	3,462 7.8%	150 3.1%	27 4.6%	12 2.1%	19 1.2%	14 4.8%	~ 3 3.1%	12 4.1%	18 8.3%	45 3.8%
$35,000 to $49,999/yr	2,528 4.5%	1,398 3.2%	121 2.5%	14 2.4%	10 1.8%	48 3.0%	7 2.4%	~ 3 3.1%	-- 0.0%	-- 0.0%	39 3.2%
$50,000 & over	836 1.5%	460 1.0%	79 1.6%	19 3.2%	25 4.4%	7 4.4%	-- 0.0%	~ 1 1.0%	11 3.8%	4 1.9%	13 1.1%

1980 U.S. Censu

*Census data is given separately for the black population only for census tracts in which 400 or more blacks reside. Census Tract 807 has a total population of only 309, of which 269 are black. Therefore, income data for black households is not available. The figures given here are based on percentages in the other census tracts in the PTA.

TABLE H--INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA)
Boston

	# IN SMSA % IN SMSA	# IN BOSTON % IN BOSTON
TOTAL # HSHLDS. %	913,224 100%	162,675 100%
Less than $5,000/yr %	103,607 11.3%	30,311 18.6%
$5,000 to $7,499/yr %	62,069 6.8%	15,666 9.6%
$7,500 to $9,999/yr %	59,563 6.5%	14,394 8.8%
$10,000 - $14,999/yr %	123,451 13.5%	27,222 16.7%
$15,000 - $19,999/yr %	122,425 13.4%	22,716 14.0%
$20,000- $24,999/yr %	114,241 12.5%	16,970 10.4%
$25,000 - $34,999/yr %	161,103 17.6%	19,391 11.9%
$35,000 - $49,999/yr %	104,071 11.4%	10,523 6.5%
$50,000 & over %	62,694 6.9%	5,482 3.4%

1900 U.S. Census

In fact, in order to maintain the current proportion of blacks in a gentrified PTA (83% black), we would have to assume that 4,579, or nearly one-third of the black households with incomes above $15,000/year in the entire SMSA would be residing in the PTA in 2001.(9) Since there are only approximately 1,138 such black households in the PTA currently, this would entail an enormous proportion of the more well-to-do black population in the entire SMSA moving into the PTA in the next 20 years (assuming that only a small proportion would come from outside the SMSA entirely). It is much more likely that the bulk of inmigrating gentry will be white, of which there is an enormous pool in the SMSA from which to draw.

One other factor--the weight of history--guided our assumption that if the PTA gentrifies over the next 20 years, the population will become mostly white. This is what nearly always happens in gentrifying areas where there has previously been a significant population of people of color. (Gentrification occurs in white neighborhoods as well--these neighborhoods remain white but change class.) In Philadelphia, gentrification turned the mostly black Whitman section to a nearly all-white area. Society Hill, also in Philadelphia, Hyde Park in Chicago, Lower Manhattan in New York City and parts of San Francisco and Seattle have experienced a similar fate.(10)

Closer to home, we can look at a long history of gentrification in the South End of Boston, and that history bears out the contention that people of color are disproportionately displaced from gentrified areas (being replaced by whites). Taken as a whole, the South End has remained a racially and ethnically mixed area. However, if one looks at patterns of segregation/integration on a finer scale, it becomes evident that certain streets and blocks previously mostly black and/or Hispanic are now the turf of white professionals (11), and that these are, by and large, the areas where most rehabilitation and "urban beautification" has taken place in the South End, where incomes are higher and where a significantly higher proportion of the employed population is in the "managerial and professional specialty occupations."(12)

On the basis of this analysis, our "best guess" of the racial/ethnic composition for a gentrified PTA in 2001 is: 60% white; 30% black; 5% Asian; 3% other; with 5% of spanish origin, of any race.

Popular Control/Balanced Development Scenario

Our Popular Control/Balanced Development Scenario is premised on an anti-displacement program (see "Recommendations" section below). We therefore hope to maintain the bulk of the existing population in the area (improving the employment and income profile of this population through the development of new jobs and services). We also hope to attract more affluent middle- and upper-middle income black homeowners (a trend already underway in the Fort Hill-Highland Park

area, as mentioned above) as well as those white homeowners who might choose to live in a predominantly black neighborhood. The Hispanic population might increase slightly, given continuing immigration, and given job development in the area. The Asian population will also probably increase as the area develops in terms of jobs, services and safety, especially because of the proximity of this area to the currently overflowing Chinatown, which will be enhanced by the LRV connection.

Our "best guess" racial/ethnic distribution for this scenario in 2001 is: 60% black; 30% white; 5% Asian; 5% other; with 15% people of Spanish origin, of any race.

▪ RETAIL--SQUARE FEET, ANNUAL SALES AND JOBS

Current

- Square Feet

There are currently 419,000 square feet of retail space in the Dudley Study Area, of which 169,000 (40%) are vacant, leaving 250,000 square feet in use. Of the 95 retail units in the area, 23 (24%) are vacant, implying that some of the larger retail units in the area are among those vacant (an average of 7400 square feet per vacant unit, compared with an average of about 3500 square feet per occupied unit).(13) Currently operating retail establishments include a number of clothing stores, drug stores, bars, restaurants, hardware, appliance and furniture stores, and even a musical instruments store. Market studies for the PTA show current significant shortfalls in such major convenience retail categories as food, prescription drugs and health and beauty aids. (14)

- Annual Sales

We are estimating a current annual sales per gross leasable area of retail space of $100 per square foot--or $25 million total annual sales in the Study Area. This estimate is based on two sources. We first utilized the methodology and data developed in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Total Studio. Spring 1973, report on Dudley, "Appendix 5: Market Analysis." We estimted total income for the Dudley Primary Trade Area (Census Tracts 803-808, 816, 817) and the Secondary Trade Area (Census Tracts 708-711, 801, 802, 812-815, 818-821, 901-906, 913, 914). We did this by multiplying the number of households by household median income for each tract as given in the 1980 U.S. Census. Total income for the PTA was $47,140,377 and for the STA, $198,150,424, or a total of $245,290,801.

According to the Total Studio report, a survey conducted in Roxbury in 1967 yielded the following:

Roxbury Consumer Expenditures by Retail Category (as a percentage of income)	
Food	20.0%
Eating and Drinking	5.0%
Drugs	2.5%
Furniture and Appliances	3.0%
Auto Sales	7.5%
Auto Service	3.5%
Shoes and Apparel	6.0%
Hardware, Building Materials	2.5%
General Merchandise	10.0%
TOTAL	60.0%

Making the rough approximation that Dudley captures the same annual share of this market as it did at the time of the Total Studio report, we find the following:

Retail Category	Dudley Sales (in millions)	Total Est. Purchases (in millions)	Dudley Mkt. Share (percent)
Food	7.85	49.06	16%
Eating and Drinking	4.41	12.26	36%
Drug	1.66	6.13	27%
Furniture and Appliance	2.94	7.36	40%
Hardware, Building Materials	2.94	18.40	16%
General Merchandise	2.06	8.59	24%
Shoes and Apparel	3.68	14.72	25%
Auto Service	.37	6.13	6%
Auto Sales	0.00	24.53	0%
TOTAL	25.91	147.18	18%

Dividing total annual sales of $25.91 million by total square feet of retail space in use in Dudley, we obtain a figure of $103 per square foot.

As a check on this method, we also looked at *Dollars and Cents of Shopping Centers: 1981*, prepared by the Urban Land Institute, and found that the annual median dollars per square foot of gross leasable area for community shopping centers in the Northeast is $99 (page 117).

- Jobs

Based on the formula developed in MIT's *Evaluating Development Impacts*, for each 500 square feet of utilized retail space we can

estimate one job.(15) Therefore, there are currently about 500 retail jobs in the Study Area.

Disinvestment Scenario

- Square Feet

Experts in arson research and prevention have estimated that, given continued disinvestment in this area, we can conservatively expect 60% of the built environment will have been rendered useless from burning by 2001.(16) As population, income, public transportation, etc., decline in the PTA, and as current business owners retire (the average age of current proprietors is about 50 years, so we can expect a high retirement rate in the next 15 years),(17) no new investment will be attracted into the area and existing businesses will close their doors. We are predicting a 90% vacancy rate of the 167,600 square feet of retail space remaining in the area, leaving only about 16,800 square feet of operating retail space--four or five establishments, probably a second hand store, a high-priced "corner" store, a couple of bars and a liquor store.

- Annual Sales

We expect that sales per square feet will be low for a second hand store (about $41/sq.ft.) and high for liquor and convenience stores ($150 to $200/sq.ft.).(18) Not knowing precisely the mix of stores, we are assuming the current annual sales of $100/sq.ft., yielding a total of only $1,680,000.

- Jobs

With only 16,800 square feet of utilized retail space, only 34 jobs will be produced. This represents a loss of 466 jobs, or 93% of the 500 current jobs.

Gentrification/Displacement Scenario

- Square Feet:

We are assuming full utilization of existing retail space as well as the development of approximately 163,000 square feet of new retail space in the rehabilitated Dudley Station (about 69,000 sq.ft.), in new buildings on Parce 10 (about 35,000 sq.ft. plus parking), and on the currently mostly vacant site on the corner of Harrison Street and Melnea Cass Boulevard (about 59,000 sq.ft.). This will yield a total of 582,000 sq.ft. of retail space in the Study Area. With the normal 2% turnover vacancy rate, we can expect 570,400 sq.ft. to be in retail use in the area in 2001.

On Parcel 10 we would expect the development of a food market with parking. In a rehabilitated Dudley Station, one could foresee a small

Quincy Market type development, with other boutique and specialty stores developing along the new Washington Street Mall, and perhaps a new "trendy" home furnishing type store (like those in Brattle and Putnam Squares in Cambridge) on the Harrison Street site. In other words, we would expect the type of retail development that serves the anticipated "yuppie" population.

- Annual Sales

The type of stores that we are projecting in this scenario tend to have a higher volume of sales per square foot (as well as higher rent per square foot) than the type of stores currently in the area. For example, a supermarket will draw about $250/sq.ft., a jewelry store, $270/sq.ft., and special apparel, $170/sq.ft.(19) We are therefore projecting an annual sales of about $140/sq.ft.(20) This will yield an annual sales figure for the area of $79,856,000.

- Jobs

With utilized retail space increasing to 570,400 square feet, there will be a 56% increase in the number of jobs. The total number of retail jobs in this scenario will be about 1,141--641 more than there are at the present time.

Popular Control/Balanced Development Scenario

- Square Feet

With balanced development, we are assuming full utilization of existing retail space and new retail being developed in a rehabilitated Dudley Station (about 69,000 sq.ft.), and in a new building on Parcel 10 (about 35,000 sq.ft. plus parking). This will yield a total of 523,000 sq.ft. of retail space in the Study Area. With the normal 2% turnover vacancy rate, we can expect about 512,500 sq.ft. to be in retail use in the area in 2001.

On Parcel 10, we expect the development of a supermarket with parking. Small shops (drugs, music, clothing, books, barber, etc.) will be developed in Dudley Station. The storefronts along the Washington Street Mall and along Warren Street, when fully occupied, will continue to offer the same type and range of goods as are currently offered for sale (e.g., hardware, appliances, home furnishings, clothing, drugs, musical instruments, prepared food, liquor, etc.) as well as additional commodities and services now in short supply in the area.

- Annual Sales

With the addition of a supermarket and various small stores, we expect a somewhat higher than current median dollars/sq.ft. annual sales and are roughly estimating $125/sq.ft., or a total annual sales

for the area of $64,062,500.

- Jobs

The 512,500 square feet of retail space we are projecting in this scenario will produce about 1,025 jobs--525 more jobs than currently, a 51% increase.

- **OFFICE--SQUARE FEET AND JOBS**

Current

- Square Feet

There are currently 319,000 square feet of office space in the Study Area, of which 174,000 or 55% are vacant. Of 34 office units, 23 or 68% are vacant. Contrary to the case of vacant retail units, vacant office units are significantly smaller on the average than occupied office units (about 7,600 square feet compared to 13,000 square feet).

- Jobs

Again, utilizing the formula developed in Evaluating Development Impacts, we expect one job for every 200 square feet of office space. Therefore, currently there are about 725 office jobs in the Study Area.

Disinvestment Scenario

- Square Feet

Again, assuming that arson will destroy 60% of usable space by 2001,(21) only 127,600 square feet of office space will remain in 2001 and 90% of this will be vacant, leaving only 12,760 square feet in office use--one or two units.

- Jobs

Only 64 office jobs would remain in the Study Area in this scenario, resulting in 661 or 99% of the current being lost.

Gentrification/Displacement Scenario

- Square Feet

We are assuming full utilization of existing office space, plus about 69,000 square feet of additional office space developed in part of the current industrial space on the upper floors of buildings along Washington and Warren Streets. This totals 388,000 square feet of office space; given the normal 2% turnover vacancy rate, we expect,

on the average, about 380,500 square feet will be in office usage in 2001.

- Jobs:

Office jobs would increase from 725 to 1,903. This would produce 1,178 more jobs in the gentrification scenario, a 62% increase.

Popular Control/Balanced Development Scenario

- Square Feet

Our expectation is that existing office space--319,000 square feet--will be in full usage in 2001; with a 2% vacancy rate, this will mean that, on the average, 312,600 square feet will be utilized as offices.

- Jobs:

Full utilization of office space will mean 1,563 office jobs in the Study Area--more than doubling the current office jobs.

- **INDUSTRIAL SPACE--SQUARE FEET AND JOBS**

Current

- Square Feet

There are currently 99.500 sq. ft. of manufacturing space, of which 8,500 or 8% are vacant. Of the five manufacturing units in the area, two, or 40%, are vacant. Currently there are 39,000 sq.ft. of warehousing space, of which 2,000 or 5% are vacant. One (20%) of the five warehousing units is vacant.

- Jobs

Evaluating Development Impacts estimates one job per 550 square feet of manufacturing space and one job per 800 square feet of warehouse space. The currently utilized 91,000 square feet of manufacturing space yields about 165 jobs and the 37,000 utilized warehouse space yields about 46 jobs, or a total of 211 industrial jobsd in the Study Area currently.

Disinvestment Scenario

- Square Feet:

Assuming our rough "rule of thumb" that 60% of all usable space will burn by 2001,(22) only 39,300 sq. ft. of manufacturing and 15.600 sq.ft. of warehousing space (or a total of 54,400 sq.ft. industrial space) will remain usable in 2001. We are assuming there will be a

shift from manufacturing space to warehousing; a typical syndrome in declining areas. We are further assuming a 30% vacancy rate. Of the remaining 38,800 sq.ft., our "best guess" is that half (19,400 sq.ft.) will be manufacturing (probably one or two sweat shops) and half will be warehousing.

- Jobs

Only 35 manufacturing and 24 warehouse jobs would remain in the area--152 jobs would be lost.

Gentrification/Displacement Scenario

- Square Feet

In this scenario, new residents will not, by and large, be working in industrial jobs and this space will become too valuable for industrial use--much higher rents and/or sale prices will be collected when this space is converted to office and residential uses. We are therefore assuming there will be no industrial space in the study area in 2001.

- Jobs

All 211 current industrial jobs will be lost.

Popular Control/Balanced Development Scenario

- Square Feet

We expect full utilization of existing industrial space and the development of additional manufacturing on the Harrison Street site (approximately another 59,000 sq.ft.), yielding a total of about 197,500 square feet of industrial use with roughly 35,000 sq.ft. of warehousing and 163,500 sq.ft. of manufacturing space.

- Jobs

Manufacturing jobs would increase by 44% In this scenario. 132 would be added to the current 165, totaling 297 manufacturing jobs in 2001. Warehouse jobs would remain at their current level of 46. Total industrial jobs in the Study Area will be about 343.

● SERVICE--SQUARE FEET AND JOBS

Current

- Square Feet

Service use accounts for a total of 70,000 square feet of which 26,000 are used by banks and 500 are vacant, leaving 65,000 square

feet in use.

- Jobs

Evaluating Development Impacts does not suggest a figure for jobs per square feet of service use and we are utilizing a figure midway between that used for office and retail uses--one job for every 350 square feet. We estimate that there are currently about 186 jobs in the Study Area.

Disinvestment Scenario

- Square Feet

If 60% of this space has burned by 2001, 28,000 square feet of the space currently used for service will remain. We assume that, in this scenario, banks and other financial services will leave the area, as will the post office, whereas services such as the welfare and food stamp offices will remain. We are assuming full utilization of the 28,000 square feet for these type services.

- Jobs

Over 100 service jobs will be lost in the area, leaving 80 service jobs.

Gentrification/Displacement Scenario

- Square Feet

We are assuming full utilization of the current 70,000 square feet for service usage. We assume that financial services will constitute a much larger percentage of the service usage than currently, that the post office will remain and that services such as the welfare and food stamp offices will not be included in the area.

- Jobs

We anticipate a slight increase in service jobs from the current 186 to 200.

Popular Control/Balanced Development Scenario

- Square Feet

We are projecting an increase in square feet of service in the area to a total of 100,000 square feet. The range of services now in the area will remain and possibly a new health center and another bank will be added.

- Jobs

We estimate an increase of approximtely 100 jobs over current levels--a total of 286 service jobs in the area in 2001.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a more thorough critique of the method by which unemployment figures are computed, see: Brill, Harry, "The Official Unemployment Rate: Fact or Fiction?" unpublished paper, Sociology Department, U.Mass/Boston, approx. 1978. *Dollars and Sense*, "What's Missing in Unemployment Figures? Federal Rates Fuzzy, Local Rates Laughable," October 1977; "Capitol Contacts: Unemployment-Conservative Style," September 1979; "Statistics of the Month; Eight Percent, or Maybe Twelve," January 1982.

2. Defined as: "A family consists of householder and one or more other persons living in the same household who are related to the householder by birth, marriage, or adoption." (*1980 Census of Population and Housing--Boston SMSA*, page ___, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington D.C.)

3. For explanation and documentation of this scenario and the particularly severe problems faced by black poor as compared to white poor, see: Marable, Manning, *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America*, South End Press, Boston, 1983. especially pp. 3367, "The Black Poor: Highest Stage of Underdevelopment." For further elaboration of ghetto economics, see Tabb, William, *The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto*, W.W. Norton, New York, 1970.

4. From 1960 U.S. Census.

5. Marable, Manning, *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America*, South End Press, Boston, 1983. especially Section I, "The Black Majority: The Domestic Periphery." "Race vs. Class: How blacks fared in the Seventies," *Dollars & Sense*, Dec. 1982. Rose, Stephen and Dennis Livingston, "Social Stratification in the U.S.", poster and booklet. Social Graphics Co., Baltimore, Md., 1984.

6. Kaufman, Jonathon, "Boston's suburbs off limits to blacks," *Boston Globe*. 5/20/84. Yudis, Anthony J., "Revitalizing a portion of Highland Park," *Boston Globe*, 5/9/81.

7. Kaufman, *loc. cit.* Rubin, Laurie and Susan Forward, "Systematic Discrimination in the Private Rental Market," Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, May 1984.

8. "Black Middle Class--A Slim Reality: Black & Hispanic Workers Remain Far Behind," *Dollars and Sense*, November 1980.
Marable, Manning, *Black Water*, ___________________________________.
________________, *From the Grassroots*, South End Press, 1980.
________________, *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America*, *op. cit.*
Wilhelm, Sydney. *Black in White America*. Schenkman. 1983.

9. This is assuming a total population of 16,000 in 2001 (see "Population" section, "Gentrification/Displacement Scenario" page __).

current SMSA average of 2.88 persons/black household (1980 U.S. Census), and that a median household income of $16,000 roughly corresponds to households earning $15,000 and up/year in 1979.

10. Jordan, Robert A., "A new housing threat to blacks living in the inner city," *Boston Globe*, 2/23/79.

11. Jordan, *loc. cit.*

12. If we compare our "gentrified" Census Tract 706 with the two census tracts with the heaviest black population in the South End proper, Census Tracts 708 and 709 (excluding the Lower Roxbury area, which is only considered a part of the South End by the Urban Renewal Plan), we find: 1) even in Tracts 708 and 709, the black population is becoming a smaller proportion of the total census tract population. Tract 708 went from 83.7% black in 1970 to 67.3% black in 1979; Tract 709 went from 78% black in 1970 to 63.4% black in 1980; 2) 1980 median household incomes in these three tracts compare as follows: Tract 706=$16,185; Tract 708=$10,427; Tract 709=$9,847: 3) per capita incomes compare as follows: Tract 706=$10,427; Tract 708=$7,842; Tract 709=$6,393; 4) percentages of employed persons over 16 years and over in the "managerial and professional specialty occupations" in 1979 compare as follows: Tract 706=51.5%; Tract 708=23.6%; Tract 709=15.2%; 5) percentages of total housing units that are owner-occupied compare as follows: Tract 706=26.7%; Tract 709=9.8%; 6) median value of a sample of one-family owner-occupied houses (sale price for house and land as estimated by homeowner in 1980 census) are as follows: Tract 706=$86,800; Tract 708=$62.500; Tract 709=$36,700; and 7) median monthly rents for these tracts are as follows: Tract 706=$252; Tract 708=$207; Tract 709=$172. (All figures are from either the 1970 or 1980 U.S. Census.)

13. John Brown Associates and Greater Roxbury Development Corporation, "Land Use and Building Condition Surveys in the R/TIS Study Area." Appendix 10 of *Phase II, Replacement/Transit Improvement Study, MBTA Contract No. 065-014*, June. 1983, page 8.

14. "Analysis of Shopping Patterns and Retail Market Demand--Dudley Station." Commercial Development Division, Neighborhood Development Agency, City of Boston, October 1980, pages 1, 2 and 18.

15. Herr, Philip, Gene Slater, Rovert Bluhm, *Evaluating Development Impacts*, May 1978, page 94.

16. This estimate was developed in conversations with Urban Education Systems, a Boston-based arson research consulting firm. They mentioned possibly analogous examples of neighborhoods in Newark and St. Louis, as well as the South Bronx, where a far higher rate of burning was the case. Also see, Hartman, Chester, Dennis Keating and Richard LeGates, *Displacement*. Legal Service Anti-Displacement Project, 1982, page 43: "Whole neighborhoods can be decimated by

arsonists. In the Bushwick section of Brooklyn, for example, 1,140 multiple dwelling buildings--*one-third of the entire housing stock*--were lost to arson in a single year."

17. Boston Conference, April 11, 1984.

18. *Dollars and Cents*, p. 179.

19. *Dollars and Cents of Shopping Centers*: 1981, page 78.

20. *Ibid*. This figure is similar to median sales per gross leasable area for Regional Shopping Centers in the Northeast--see page 65.

21. See footnote 16 above.

22. See footnote 16 above.

SECTION IV

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Summary of Findings

SCENARIOS				DUDLEY PRIMARY TRADE AREA
BALANCED DEVELOPMENT Year 2001	GENTRIFICATION Year 2001	DISINVESTMENT Year 2001	1980 BASELINE	
				POPULATION
27,000	16,000	12,745	15,933	Number of People
+70% (1980-2001)	0% (1980-2001)	-20% (1980-2001)	-41% (1960-1980)	20 Year Change
				INCOME (1980 DOLLARS)
$12,530	$16,185	$5,800	$8,288	Household Median Income
6,555	10,938	2,735	4,156	Per Capita Income
				RACIAL/ETHNIC COMPOSITION
65%	30%	90%	83%	Black
30%	60%	1%	5%	White
1%	10%	9%	12%	Other
15%	5%	15%	14%	Spanish Origin (any race)
				LABOR FORCE
60%	68%	30%	38%	% of Population in Labor Force
6.5%	3.3%	16.4%	11.4%	% of Labor Force w/ 15 wks or more Unemployment in 1 yr.
21 %	11 %	44%	31 %	% of Families w/no Worker
				OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION (% of Labor Force)
25 %	50 %	5 %	19 %	Managerial & Professional
30 %	25 %	20 %	30 %	Technical, Sales, Admin. Support
20 %	15 %	45 %	27 %	Service Occupations
10 %	5 %	5 %	5 %	Precision Production, Craft, Repair
15 %	5 %	25 %	18 %	Operators, Fabricators, Laborers

Summary of Findings

SCENARIOS				DUDLEY STUDY AREA
BALANCED DEVELOPMENT Year 2001	GENTRIFICATION Year 2001	DISINVESTMENT Year 2001	1980 BASELINE	
				LAND USE, Square Feet & % Vacant
523,000	582,000	167,600	419,000	Retail
2%	2%	90%	40%	% Vacant
319,000	388,000	127,000	319,000	Office
2%	2%	90%	55%	% Vacant
100,000	70,000	28,000	70,000	Service
2%	2%	2%	1%	% Vacant
163,500	-0-	39,800	95,500	Manufacturing
2%	-0-	30%	8%	% Vacant
35,000	-0-	15,600	39,000	Warehousing
2%	-0-	30%	5%	% Vacant
				SALES
$65,375,000	$ 79,856,000	$ 1,680,000	$ 25,000,000	Annual Retail Sales
				JOBS
3,217	3,244	237	1,622	Total Jobs
1,025	1,141	34	500	Retail
1,563	1,903	64	725	Office
286	200	80	186	Service
343	-0-	59	211	Industrial

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

There is a definite connection between the decision to build an LRV on the Washington Street Corridor, on the one hand, and the future development of the Dudley neighborhood, on the other. Studies have shown that LRV construction does promote development given certain conditions and certain policies.

The major conditions for the successful leveraging of an LRV project are: 1) a relatively prosperous regional economy, and 2) a balanced transportation structure not overly dependent on automobiles. Both of these are eminently present in Boston.

There are also a number of policies which can promote the leveraging of an LRV investment into successful economic development. These include adequate financing, joint development capability, local rezoning, etc. An outline of these policies is contained in the recommendations section of this report.

Because the danger of displacement and gentrification is found to be serious if development does take place, a series of additional policies are recommended with the intention of insuring that the development that takes place benefits the Black Community, particularly working class and low-income residents of the Dudley neighborhood.

There are surprisingly strong advantages to building an LRV and instituting related pro-development measures. The difference between the Disinvestment Scenario and the other two scenarios that were elaborated are immense. While a cost/benefit analysis of the LRV construction was not within the scope of this project, a glance at the comparison matrix following shows major differences among scenarios in every line item we investigated. An LRV, and related investments, should pay for itself very quickly.

Disinvestment Scenario

If disinvestment continues at the rate that has prevailed for the last twenty years, by the year 2001 the population will have dropped 20% to less than 13,000 people. Per capita income will decrease from $4,156 to $2,735 (1980 dollars) and median household income will drop to less than half of that citywide.

Less and less of the population will participate in the labor force. The rate of participation in the area is already very low--only 38% of the population compared to 55% citywide. With further disinvestment, less than 30% of the population will be in the labor force by 2001. The composition of the labor force will change--more people will work in unskilled and minimum wage service jobs; industrial jobs will nearly disappear from the area.

The racial/ethnic composition of the population will remain about the same, almost entirely black with a few Hispanics. However, rather than serving as a social and commercial center for the Black Community, the area will concentrate the poorest and least prosperous activities.

The building plant will continue to deteriorate rapidly. Arson will claim 60% of the build environment within the Study Area. Of the remaining 300,000 square feet of retail and office space, 90% will lie vacant, inviting further arson. Industrial space will be used almost entirely as warehouse space--the least job creating industrial use. We have not attempted to guess the potential fiscal impact of this loss of building stock to the city's tax base but it is certain to be enormous.

The potential impact on jobs is also drastic. Currently, we estimate there are over 1600 jobs in the Dudley Study Area and that, with further disinvestment, we will lose almost 85% of these jobs by 2001 (keeping only 237 jobs in the area). Aside from jobs, the loss of retail activities will cost the area over $23 million in annual sales--only 7% of current annual sales will be retained.

Gentrification/Displacement Scenario

If the LRV is built and reinvestment promoted, but no measures are taken to defend existing residents, the most likely outcome is what we have called the Gentification/Displacement Scenario. As noted previously, this scenario looks great statistically. But, we have to keep in mind that it's only great for an almost entirely different group of people than those currently making the Dudley area their home and commerical and cultural center. Current residents and users will be driven out. The population will probably stay at its present number, although radically changed in composition. Over half of the black population will be displaced by young white professionals by 2001 and the median househod income will nearly double, while the per capita income will increase from the current $4,156 to $11,000 (1980 dollars).

The percentage of the labor force unemployed more than fifteen weeks in 1979 was twice that of the city's labor force as a whole; we can expect this figure, based on analogous census tracts in Boston, to become half of the citywide rate and for more than two-thirds to be in the labor force (compared to a current 55% citywide and 38% in the Dudley Primary Trade Area) by 2001. The composition of the labor force will also change--over half will be in the "managerial and professional" category, compared to a current 20%.

The amount of space devoted to retail and office uses will increase dramatically in new, converted and rehabilitated facilities, while industry will virtually disappear from the area. From the retail activities, we estimate that annual sales for the Study Area will

increase by over two-thirds to nearly $80 million. Jobs will also increase--by 50% to a total of around 3200 jobs in the Study Area alone. But, industrial jobs will be lost; new jobs will be in sales and office work. Most of this new labor force will not be able to afford to live in the Dudley area.

Popular Control/Balanced Development Scenario

This scenario presents an interesting set of projections. There will be a dramatic increase in the population--40% over the current total to 27,000: this was the population of the area thirty years ago. There will be some controlled gentrification and, although the area will remain predominantly black, the percentage of white population will increase somewhat--we project 60% black, 30% white, 5% Asian, 5% other, with 15% latino (of any race). There will be no displacement, since the area, with vast tracts of open land and vacant buildings, can accomodate the inmigrating population in new construction and rehabilitated buildings without loss of low-income housing units.

While the area will not become "wealthy" it will become on par with the city as a whole--in 1980 dollars this meant a median annual household income of $12,530 and a per capita income of $6,555--more than half again the current income levels in the area.

Retail, office and industrial space in use in the Study Area will dramatically increase, creating over 3000 jobs and annual retail sales of $64 million in the Study Area alone. Assuming the Crosstown Industrial Park adjacent to the Study Area also finally "takes off" the Dudley area can become once more a stable working class community and the commercial and cultural center for the Boston-area Black Community.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is important to note that this impact study cannot pretend to be a plan for the Dudley neighborhood development. It is intended, however, to contribute to the elaboration of such a plan, as well as contribute to the formulation of various policies for the area. With this understanding, a series of recommendations are outlined. If enacted, they are likely to produce the desired outcome--the popular control/balanced development scenario.

1. Build the LRV

Build the LRV on the Washington Street Corridor and locate the Crosstown Corridor in or near the Dudley Area (along Melnea Cass Boulevard or New Dudley Street).

All our evidence indicates that the LRV is essential for development in the area. The Crosstown Corridor should be located to reinforce the potential for the LRV development.

Whether or not the LRV can be strongly justified on the grounds of ridership, it is imperative that it be built on the grounds of the economic impact of removing the Orange Line on a major section of the city of Boston. If the potential benefits of building the LRV are weighed against the potential costs of not building it, the estimated $25 million price tag is minimal. The LRV can be built in such a way as to minimize the objecions of various groups, including part of the Chinatown community. The various engineering problems that are connected with the LRV construction and overcoming the Chinatown community s objections to it can be solved.

2. Establish s Dudley Area Development Authority

Interviews indicate that experts and community activists are in general agreement about the damage to economic development in the Dudley Station area caused by bureaucratic entanglement. The economic decline and continual blighting of the Dudley Station area of Roxbury has resulted from years of institutional neglect and absence of a centralized, community-controlled coordinating agency, with real decision-making capacity.

There are a large number of agencies and public entities which have overlapping powers and jurisdiction in this area. Their individualistic behaviour consistently damges the possibility of a coordinated development plan. For example: 1) disposition of tax delinquent property to further development is next to impossible, given the laberynthian process now in place: 2) several agencies have power over key parcels of land, but they are all using this power as a negotiating chip, rather than in promoting meaningful development--consequently, nothing happens: 3) funds which could be availabe for development are frozen by this inertia and lack of agreement: and 4)

lack of political clout, both partially a result and cause of this entanglement, prevents effective lobbying for public investment of funds in the area. The lack of progress made on the Blue Hill Avenue development during the White administration is a good example of this bureaucratic entanglement.

To reverse this trend, a first step would be the implementation of the resolution filed by Councilman Bruce Bolling which is presently pending before the City Council. The resolution calls for the establishment of a "DUDLEY TERMINAL WORKING COMMITTEE". However, to ensure the effectiveness of the proposed committee, their role and power should be expanded beyond the mere advisory function to the Mayor that is proposed. Also, the composition of the committee should reflect a majority voice of community representatives from both the community organizations in the area and area residents.

The Working Committee (or Dudley Area Development Authority, as we suggest it be constituted) must have control over the agenda and program decisions to rectify the present process of insensitive and damaging actions which have impacted adversely upon the indiginous population. Therefore, this new body should be seen as an authority rather than a committee. The detailed legal powers of such an authority need to be explored further, but the legal basis exists for its formation.

Following are proposed guidelines for the authority:

- Who should be involved:

  30% of the Board should be Government Agencies--like NDEA, BRA, Real Property, Heritage Park.

  30% of the Board should be local CDC's and local merchants.

  30% of the Board should be local residents.

  10% of the Board should be business people and technicians from outside the area.

- The participation of the local CDC's, merchants and residents should be designed in such a way as to reinforce rather than preclude their role in development. The process should be participatory, democratic and honest.

- Role of the Authority:
  - To coordinate various efforts in the area.
  - To promote revitalization and reinvestment controlled by the local community.
  - To cut red tape.
  - To act as the planning agency for the area.

  - To become an umbrella organization involving various sectors and actors.

- Powers of the Authority:

  - To develop and monitor the implementation of a master plan for the area, including development policy.
  - To review and approve plans by any entity which impacts on the Dudley Area
  - To control foreclosing and acquisition procedures for the area, to control disposition of land, including eminent domain --these powers are to be transferred from existing entities to the new authority.

- Legislation necessary to create and empower the Authority should be advocated by the City and State governments.

- Funds of the Authority:

  - Linkage money should be allocated to the Authority
  - The Authority should be well financed with Federal, State and City, as well as private funds.
  - The Authority should develop innovative ways to utilize and leverage existing funds for development, including CARD money, etc.

- Timing:

  This Authority should be legally instituted and in operation by the end of 1985 at the latest. It should remain operational at least through the year 2001. As part of the Authority's mandate, periodic external evaluations should be undertaken of the Authority's performance as well as of the various development efforts in the area.

- Agenda:

  The Authority should undertake, with all expediency, a major bureaucratic reorganization of the area. Once in place, the major agenda of the Authority must be to achieve and maintain the delicate balance between encouraging development and preventing displacement. A few suggestions follow of mechanisms, if instituted, that might assist this effort:

  - Maximum Use of Environmental Impact Review

    The new authority is urged to become an active participant during all EIR procedures along with all other community organizations presently involved with the Study Area.

    The Massachusetts Environmental Policy Act (MEPA), does not

require direct or indirect housing displacement as a factor for consideration in an Environmental Impact Review. Although direct housing displacement is considered on an informal basis by the MEPA and subject to the National Environmental Policy Act (MEPA) review, neither process addresses the issue of indirect displacement.

We recommend the reintroduction of the Neighborhood Stabilization Act (NSA), before the Massachusetts Legislature, which was previously defeated in 1978. This Act attempted to amend the MEPA to include housing displacement as a requirement of the EIR. The Act required preparation of a Neighborhood Impact Assessment for certain size developments and a Neighborhood Stabilization Plan, designating parties responsible for implementing actions to minimize negative impact. This Act also included the establishment of a Community Assistance Fund based on a development surcharge and a Neighborhood Review Committee to oversee the process. The question of indirect displacement should be incorporated into the reintroduced version, as a required factor during review.

- Enforce Linkage

  The Boston Linkage program, still in the formative stages, calls for future developers to contribute $5 per square foot of office space created in excess of 100,000 gross square feet, payable in equal yearly installments over 12 years of occupancy. The expected process is that the money will be paid to a Neighborhood Housing Trust, which is allowed to contribute money only to projects which could create or rehabilitate low- and moderate-income housing.

  The State Legislature could greatly help municipalities enforce linkage payments by passing enabling legislation. This legislation could also define the guidelines for fundable projects by the linkage payments.

- Other Policies and Measures to Consider to Promote Development and Prevent Displacement:(1)

  - Tax Increment Financing to Promote Development:

    Another form of linkage, which doesn't represent either an expenditure of current tax dollars, nor a fee charged to developers, is known as tax increment financing (TIF). A bill is presently before the State Legislature which would enable local governments, by a two-thirds vote, to designate a development district, similar to a CARD district, and set aside, for development purposes, a portion of that district's projected tax revenues. This tax increment, represents a forecast of cash flow over a period of time after development

and, as such, can be used as the basis of a special obligation bond. The proceeds of this bond can be used to initiate new development and revitalization projects. Although TIF does not have to be exclusively used for housing (infrastructure could be one alternative), several significant housing projects have recently been financed at least in part through this mechanism, for example, Symphony Place in Minneapolis (a 250 unit development).

- Property Tax Relief to Prevent Displacement:

  One form of tax relief, previously authorized by the State Legislature, is commonly referred to as a "circuit breaker tax". This tax limits property tax payments for those residents with incomes of less than $30,000, if the tax they owe becomes too high relative to their ability to pay. A 1978 bill proposed relief equal to 80% of the amount of property tax above 8% of income.

- Reinstitute Property Tax Exemptions to Prevent Displacement:

  Following the recent 100% revaluation of property, property taxes would have increased substantially for many previously exempted homeowners. These exempted homeowners are the elderly, veterans, widowers, orphans and the blind. A bill was passed that protected previously exempted classes of residents from enormous increases in taxes. However, this exemption lasted only for one year and implementation is left up to the discretion of the local government after completion of their revaluation.

  This exemption is especially important for exempted homeowners who own multi-family dwellings. A 100% revaluation on the rental portion of their homes would put these homeowners beyond eligibility for exemption based on assessed value of their real property and could result in rent increases for tenants in these buildings . This would result in the displacement of those present renters.

- Institute an Anti-Speculation Fee:

  In an effort to dampen speculation, an anti-speculation fee can be levied against property owners who obtain a speculative profit by the rapid purchase and resale of real property (such as happened frequently in the B-BURG program). The fee can be linked to two factors: 1) the shorter the holding period, the higher the fee; and 2) the greater the owner's gain as a percentage of basis, the higher the fee.

3. Develop a Comprehensive Plan for Site Improvements

As part of the LRV construction, a physical renovation of the Dudley Station area should be undertaken. Parts of Washington Street should be converted to a pedestrian mall with LRV stops and stores. Traffic should be rerouted to the periphery from Melnea Cass Boulevard to New Dudley Street. The area should be rezoned and joint development of target sites should be pursued.

4. Major Renovation of the Orchard Park Development for Continued Public Housing Use

The future of the Orchard Park Housing Development is a vital key to the future of the entire neighborhood. Sited adjacent to the Study Area, the condition of this development has a strong effect on the image and economic potential of the area.

Currently, only 530 of the 744 family units in this development are occupied. As part of its city-wide renewal, the Boston Housing Authority is renovating parts of the development and hopes to make the currently vacant units habitable once more. However, residents and merchants in the area note that these renovation efforts are far below the level of improvements being made by the BHA in developments such as D Street and Commonwealth and feel that the minimal renovation of Orchard Park is a symbol of continuing neglect of the Dudley Station Area on the part of the City. (While Columbia Point is also the object of attention and investment, the transformation of that development into a middle- and upper-income residential community makes it a totally inappropriate model.) The BHA must make a major commitment to improvements in Orchard Park in order to achieve any revitalization of the area. These improvements should guarantee major structural and site improvements as well as support for social services neeeded in the development. Improvements should be made in such a way as to not displace current residents.

5. Develop a Local Reindustrialization Policy

The local popularly-controlled Development Authority should undertake a study of alternatives for a local industrial development policy. The most adequate strategy should be promoted and implemented through the Authority.

FOOTNOTES

1. These are summarized from four Executive Office of Communities and Development memos from Langley Keves. Special Assistant for Polciy Development, to Long Term Housing Taks Force... dated April 9, 1984.

SECTION V

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